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Editor
Hao Wu
Institute of Silk Road Studies
Beijing Foreign Studies University
Beijing, China

Author
Hu Shih
Beijing, China

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Preface

Li Chi, who led Academia Sinica's archaeological explorations of Anyang Yin Ruins, despite all his toiling in field studies, digs and filing of material, did not succeed according to his own lights. To his mind, the prime mission was to find a way of combining these archaeological results and traditional documents and to redirect the focus beyond Chinese borders toward Northeast, Southeast and Central Asia in pursuit of a better understanding of prehistoric culture in all regions. Despite this disappointment, what really upset him was the publishing of *The Birth of China: A Survey of the Formative Period of Chinese Civilization* (1936), an archaeological report by the American scholar Herrlee Glessner Creel, who had stayed in Anyang for no more than a few days. In his memoir *Family Affairs, State Affairs, World Affairs: A Review of the Life of Academician Hsu Cho-yun* (2010), Hsu Cho-yun, who learned directly from Li and Creel, recalled: Li Chi "had a problem" with Creel, criticizing that "we hadn't even settled our report before he went ahead and wrote a book." Hsu told Li: "You can't blame others for writing too fast. We can only blame ourselves for writing too slowly."

Indeed, Creel's contribution is patently obvious. Even Hu Shih, who described Creel as "unscrupulous" in his diary, often cited *The Birth of China* in his university lectures. This very book in your hands right now is the proof of that. On that basis, it's fair to say Hu Shih completely deserved the title "master," considering his timely introduction of the latest research achievements to new generations in the highest academic sphere. Even though our generation was born too late to be taught directly by him it is nevertheless a special feeling to hold and handle the documents he left behind, picture the past and study them thoroughly.

This volume is the collated and organized edition of the surviving manuscript outline of "History of Chinese Thought," a course of lectures given by Hu Shih at Harvard University between November 1944 and June 1945. The content is essential material when outlining Hu Shih's ideas in researching the history of Chinese thought: it is also the most authentic record of Hu Shih's role as a mediator abroad of Chinese culture (according to Yu Ying-Shih).

As long previously as February 23, 1922, Hu Shih received an official invitation to give lectures on "Chinese Philosophy" and "Chinese Literature" from Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, Hu's *alma mater*. Having considered the matter, Hu Shih replied that since acceptance would enable him to

write an English *Ancient Philosophy* at most, and prevent him writing his planned book History of Chinese Philosophy, he declined the invitation. Similar invitations from Yale University and the University of Chicago were also turned down. It was only in July 1933 that Hu Shih undertook to deliver the Haskell Lectures at the University of Chicago, which formed the basis of one of his English-language publications: *The Chinese Renaissance: The Haskell Lectures*, (1934). R. H. Tawney, a famous British historian with socialist sympathies, who had once gone on invitation to look into Chinese education, wrote a review of the book. In this he observed that there could be no more suitable person than Hu Shih to explain China and that this publication of his work was the best English-language introduction in the world for studying China. Such high regard demonstrates the standing that Hu Shih had won in English academia.

In 1937, soon after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident that marked the start of Japan's full-on invasion of China, Chiang Kai-shek, exploiting Hu Shih's stellar reputation, ordered him to take on propaganda and negotiation responsibilities in the U.S. In April 1938, Hu Shih received an invitation from Professor Serge Elisséeff to teach at Harvard for a year, but of course he could not accept because national affairs were so pressing at the time. Elisséeff renewed the invitation in September 1942 during Hu's temporary stay in New York after finishing his official job as Chinese Ambassador to the U.S. Hu's friend Chao Yuen Ren, who was also at Harvard University at that time, lobbied him to accept and he finally did so. On October 22, 1944, Hu Shih went to Harvard and began eight months of teaching there.

In the 1930s, Hu Shih taught at Peking University during which time he offered a course under the title "Chinese Philosophy." Most of his other courses however included the words "history of thought" (for instance: "The History of Chinese Ancient Thought," "Study of the History of Chinese Modern Thought," "History of Han Dynasty Thought," and "History of Tang and Song Dynasty Thought"). These choices certainly reflected several changes in his perspective on philosophy and its history. This publication, his lecture blueprint made up of outlines and abundant examples, clearly exhibits his systematic conception of the study of history of Chinese thought: it also inspired him to try to put together an English-language version of *Brief History of Chinese Thought* based on his teaching materials. Although this never materialized, those with a mind to explore Hu Shih's intellectual journey will find help in this book to track the changes in his thinking.

On November 6, 1944, Hu Shih stepped on the lecture platform at Harvard to give the first lecture of his course "History of Chinese Thought." Facing the room packed with American students, Hu Shih was confident in his account of the changing history of Chinese thought, intent on stimulating his students' interest, expanding their knowledge and stirring up their ideas. His past research provided the basis of the course, much of the content already published in Chinese publications, and including his research on Fei Mi, a scholar and thinker of late-Ming to early-Qing times who had been largely neglected in previous academic research.

Moreover, Hu Shih drew similarities with Western culture to better explain the meaning and features of Chinese thought. For example, when Hu Shih talked about Lao Tze's notion "the ancients who followed the divine law would not enlighten the

public mind, but simplify it," he cited in comparison Adam and Eve's final "fall" in the Garden of Eden. Just a simple note "Cf. the story of the Garden of Eden & the Fall of Man" succinctly amplified the explanation of how students should understand Lao Tze. This book, in combination with Hu Shih's other English publications, significantly explains Hu Shih's role as the mediator abroad of Chinese culture.

The original copy of this book is kept in the Hu Shih Memorial Hall, Institute of Modern History of Academia Sinica in Taipei (Collection Number. HS-NK05-209-001~HS-NK05-209-047). However, few people were aware of its existence. Thanks to the effort of my colleagues in Hu Shih Memorial Hall, the original copy was fully scanned and the new version is soon to be publicly available. Since undertaking the administrative affairs of Hu Shih Memorial Hall in 2007, it has been my personal good fortune to come in contact with this document. I am deeply aware of the great difficulty in arranging these materials and presenting them to the public, since they are rarely inquired after. Thus, it has always been on my mind to contribute to its publication. By a happy chance, I got to know Doctor Wu Hao, who comes from the same area as Hu Shih and also a devotee of "Hu Shih Studies." After copious communication and organization, this publication was finally able to go public, something that would never have happened without the support and dedication of Doctor Wu. The initial work complete, we were then honored to have the famous historian and academician Wang Fan-sen of Academia Sinica write the introduction and complete the picture. We hope that readers may be inspired by the insights in this book and that it can be passed down for eternity, providing a never-ending driving force.

In his youth, Hu Shih once said: "Most undertakings in the world start from the dreams of one or two individuals. Today's catastrophes are largely due to people who have no dreams." The realization of a dream through collaboration with colleagues is indeed a comfort. In an age when historical materials and documents are emerging thick and fast, it is a real blessing for intellectuals to be able to access diverse records, and thereby explore every aspect of Hu Shih's thought. For anyone with a mind to track Hu's special spiritual legacy, using this book will be time well spent. In the world of "Hu Shih Studies" we believe that this book has important value and is sure to radiate his wisdom and erudition forever.

Pan Kuang-che
Research Fellow of Institute of Modern History and
Director of Hu Shih Memorial Hall, Academia Sinica
March 31, 2017

Contents

Preface v

From History of Philosophy to History of Thought xi

Chapter 1 1

Chapter 2 73

Chapter 3 101

Chapter 4 125

Chapter 5 155

Appendix 163

Index 177

From History of Philosophy to History of Thought —The Manuscripts of *An Outline of the History of Chinese Thought by Hu Shih*[1]

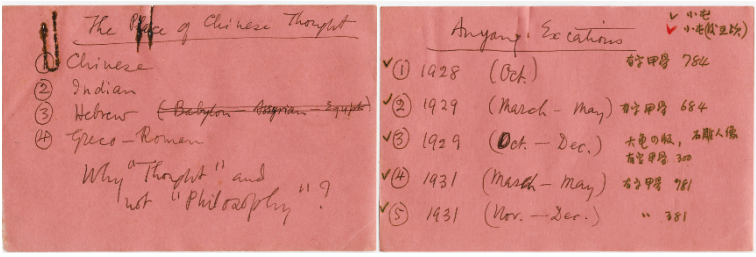
The collection of the Hu Shih Memorial Hall of Academia Sinica, Taiwan, contains the raw materials of *An Outline of the History of Chinese Thought by Hu Shih*. Comprising 1,554 pieces of fragmentary papers, this *Outline* is Hu Shih's teaching program during his period of lecturing at Harvard University between late 1944 and 1945.[2] It was his last stab at writing *History of Chinese Thought*, but his focus got diverted toward *Shuijingzhu* (Commentary on the Water Classic).[3] *An Outline of the History of Chinese Thought by Hu Shih* is quite different from the

1. This article is based on a lecture given at the 85th anniversary of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica in 2013. Thanks go to Mr. Zhou Yuefeng for recording the transcript. I would also like to offer special appreciation for the help given by Sechin Yeong-Shyang, Carl K. Y. Shaw, Pan Kuang-che and Yang Shang-Ju. This article was previously published in *Journal of Sichuan University* (Vol. 3, 2017).
2. Hu Shih Memorial Hall collection number: HS-NK05-209-001~HS-NK05-209-047. Some of these fragments have only one line of writing, many of them only a few; 643 pages deal with ancient times; 268 pages with medieval times (200 B.C.-1000 A.D.), 237 pages with medieval religions (300-1000), 326 pages with the Age of Rational Philosophy (1050-1650), and 80 pages with the Age of Revolt Against Rational Philosophy (1645-1945).
3. This material was written on writing pads when Hu Shih was a guest lecturer at Harvard University from fall of 1944 through spring of 1945 and was ultimately linked together as the Outline. Yang Lien-sheng, Chou Yi-liang and Chao Yuen Ren described his lectures in their diaries. A letter in the Hu Shih Memorial Hall, Academia Sinica shows that Macmillan Publishers Limited approached Hu Shih for the publication rights of the book. Hu Shih replied: "It embarrasses me every time that you talk about this book, since it is merely an outline sketched out on a few note pads." This *Outline* is a relatively complete presentation of his *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Volume I) 25 years down the line, and incorporates much of Hu Shih's work on the history of Chinese thought including *A Long History of Chinese Medieval Thought* and *Tai Tong-yuan's Philosophy*, etc. Hu Shih always wanted to finish the *Outline of Chinese Intellectual History*, and this *Outline* might well be his last attempt to do so.

well-known *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Volume I).

I

This *Outline* reflects two important changes in Hu Shih's approach: the first is to "get rid of philosophy"; the second is the several changes of viewpoint between *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Volume I) and *An Outline of the History of Chinese Thought by Hu Shih*. Let me first elaborate the first point. I wrote in an article in *Hanxue Yanjiu* (Studies in Sinology) that Hu Shih was actually deeply influenced by Fu Ssu-nien (1896-1950) during a certain period.[4] During Hu Shih's lectures at Harvard University between 1944 to 1945, he made the point that he did not intend talking on the history of Chinese philosophy but on the history of Chinese thought. (See Picture 1). As a matter of fact, in his book *Performing Masculinity and the Self: Love, Body, and Privacy in Hu Shih*, Chiang Yung-chen referred frequently to Hu Shih's express preference to be known as a historian of thought rather than a historian of philosophy.[5]



Picture 1

"Philosophy" (Chinese *zhexue*) is a term that was introduced into China from the West, as was the case for Japan. Hazama Naoki has a thesis tracking down by how Japan derived the concept of "philosophy" from the Western

4. When writing *On Confucianism* he was greatly influenced by Fu Ssu-nien's *Zhou-Dongfeng and Yin-Yimin* and *Theory of the Yi in the East and the Xia in the West*, as can be seen from the documents and materials I listed in the article. Many other aspects go to show that the change in Hu Shih's attitude towards philosophy may have something to do with this. See Wang Fan-sen, "Fu Ssu-nien's Impact on Hu Shih's View on Literature and History" collected in *Fu Ssu-nien: Chinese Modern History and Individuals in Politics* (translated by Wang Xiaobing), Taipei: Linking Publishing Co., Ltd., 2013, pp. 309-332.

5. See Chiang Yung-chen, *Performing Masculinity and the Self: Love, Body, and Privacy in Hu Shih*, Taipei: Linking Publishing Co., Ltd., 2011, pp. 277-278. "I sometimes call myself a historian, and sometimes a historian of thought, but never a philosopher." He intentionally downplayed the fact of having majored in philosophy, and told (his close friend) Edith Clifford Williams that he "disliked abstract thought the most."

world.[6] The arrival of "philosophy" in China, not to mention modern psychology, philosophy, and aesthetics, is intimately associated with Wang Guowei (1877-1927). It is clear from some of the translations in *Collected Writings of Wang Guowei* that Wang translated many works of Western humanities. He wrote four or five articles in the field of philosophy, his main message being that while philosophy might be an unfamiliar concept in China, it was nonetheless a good thing. Notably, when discussing the educational system with Chang Chih-tung (1837-1909), he reiterated that philosophy, despite appearing to have no use, is nonetheless an important subject.[7]

Cai Yuanpei (1868-1940) (the first president of Peking University) was deeply interested in philosophy. He wrote *General Philosophy* (1901) based on the work of Wilhelm Windelband (1848-1915), and translated *Philosophy Essentials* and *System der Ethik*.[8] His translation of Friedrich Paulsen's (1846-1908) *System der Ethik* later greatly influenced Mao Zedong (1893-1976). Of the two books most heavily commented by Mao Zedong during his life, one was Cai's translation of this book.[9] Cai Yuanpei played a very effective and important role in ushering in philosophy in the early era.

It is generally agreed that *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Volume I) is a milestone in historical studies of Chinese philosophy. In fact, there were two books before Hu Shih's: one was the teaching material used in Peking University, namely *History of Chinese Philosophy* by Chen Fuchen (styled Chen Jieshi, 1859-1917), the other with the same title was written by Xie Wuliang (1884-1964), a member of the Tongmenghui. In Hu Shih's *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Volume I) there are many references that clearly target at Xie Wuliang's views.[10] Xie's narrative started with Fu Hsi (mythical co-creator of mankind) and Shennong (the Divine Farmer), an approach that Hu Shih considered somewhat outdated and over-trusting of the ancient. The truth is that Xie was also influenced by Japan where the history of philosophy was influenced by modern Western concepts, but Xie's perspective was less skeptical than Hu Shih's.

The original title of Hu Shih's book was *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Volume I), but on the second printing the title was changed to *History*

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6. See Hazama Naoki, 西周のオランダ留學と西洋近代學術の移植："近代東アジア文明圏"形成史：學術篇 Acta Orientalia, Vol. 86 (Kyoto: Aug. 2011), pp. 131-176.
7. See Wang Guowei, *Authorized Regulations for Universities*, in *Collected Writings of Wang Guowei*, Vol.14, Hangzhou: Zhejiang Education Publishing House, 2009, pp. 32-40.
8. See Goto Yanko, 蔡元培の哲学：民国的人間像の行動原理, *Essays on Humanities*, Vol. 13 (March 1979), pp. 167-168.
9. Mao Zedong's remarks and own thoughts on Paulsen's *System der Ethik* can be seen in *Mao Zedong's Early Manuscripts: 1912.6-1920.11* (Changsha: Hunan Publishing House, 1990).
10. Hu Shih criticized Xie Wuliang, but did not mention Chen Jieshi. This may be due to the fact that Chen's *History of Chinese Philosophy* was just teaching material for use inside Peking University, whereas Xie Wuliang's *History of Chinese Philosophy* was a published book.

of Ancient Chinese Philosophy.[11] Hu Shih actually made it abundantly clear in the preface to the Taipei edition of the book that he had abandoned writing the history of philosophy in favor of the history of thought. Therefore there would be no Volume II, and what had been Volume I was now the complete book—*History of Ancient Chinese Philosophy*.[12] This helps explain his new direction, from the history of philosophy to the history of thought, and his later reluctance to be seen as a "historian of philosophy." Since it is in his personal letters, diaries, and unpublished lectures that most of the textual evidence of this shift exists, that fact remained obscure, largely escaping attention.

In 1922, four years after Hu Shih finished writing *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Volume I), he was invited to Columbia University as a visiting professor, an offer that he declined, given his intention to complete the next two volumes, an indication of his commitment to the history of philosophy at the time. In 1925, he even published *The Philosophy of Tai Tong-yuan*. However, a change in his attitude towards "philosophy" can be sensed from the late 1920s on. In August 1926, Fu Ssu-nien wrote a long letter to Hu Shih. This letter is not included in *Selected Letters of Hu Shih*, possibly due to Fu's less than meticulous handwriting, but it can be seen in *Manuscripts and Secret Letters of Hu Shih*.[13] Fu told Hu Shih that his *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* was not top-notch, but that his textual research on the history of the novel was absolutely first rate. In his （Fu's） opinion, on the one hand, there were already Western Sinologists writing on the history of philosophy. More importantly it was a huge mistake to explain Chinese thought using a philosophical framework. Since the Chinese had no such thing as "philosophy," but only the supernatural arts of healing, divination, horoscope, etc., thus any attempt to explain Chinese concepts by using Western philosophy would be fallacious. Fu added that Chen Yinque (1890-1969) shared his opinion that ethics, ontology and epistemology could not be used to explain Chinese things, and such an approach would distort ancient Chinese thought.

Fu also told Hu Shih: "When I first arrived in Britain, I felt I could read books on philosophy, even German philosophy books. But later on I sensed I couldn't understand German philosophy which, I thought, was just some bad habits of the German language. Now I've happened upon Hume and don't get what he means. At all events, my brain's become like a rock that's impervious to all kinds of philosophy. And I'm delighted with this result." This represents a tendency in intellectual circles at the time to distance themselves from "philosophy." Very many of Fu Ssu-nien's works produced in his Peking

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11. Issues relating to the position of "philosophy" around the May 4th Movement in 1919 and *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Volume I) can be consulted in Luo Zhitian, "Outline and History: Example of Academic Viewpoint Transition in the Republic of China (1912-1949)," *History Studies*, 2000, Vol. 1, pp. 168-174.

12. See Hu Shih, "Personal Records", *History of Ancient Chinese Philosophy*, Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1978, p. 1.

13. See *Letters Left by Fu Ssu-nien* (Eds. Wang Fan-sen, Pan Kuang-che and Wu Cheng-shang), Vol.1, Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, 2011, pp. 43-52.

University days originally related to philosophy, but he began to move away from philosophy in 1926 and 1927, influenced by trends in Western philosophy. Logical positivism possibly played a part in this. In 1926, Hu Shih replied, totally agreeing with him. The letter is among documents preserved at the Institute of History and Philology and is now published. Hu Shih, writing from Paris, remarked: "You have three things to be most proud of and in this respect I am somewhat similar. First, whenever I use the last words of Layman Pang (a Chan Buddhist thinker) to urge 'that you regard everything that is as empty, and give no substance to that which has none,' whereas Pang stresses the first half I consider the second to be more valuable.…Second, the ties that most damage people are the ties of their own making, like spiders spinning their own webs. Over the last few years I have put my efforts into forgetting. So for these six or seven years, I have taught no Western philosophy, read no books on Western philosophy, have cleared away much of the western 'spiders web,' and am very pleased to have done so.…Indeed, I'm proud of doing so: having made my name as a professor of philosophy, it's no easy task to abandon something that has provided my living."[14]

It was possibly because of this influence that, in May 1927, on his return to China after his time in Europe Hu Shih gave his essay on medieval philosophy the title *A Long History of Chinese Medieval Thought*. From then on he gradually dropped the terms of philosophy and history of philosophy, and even when the subject matter related to philosophy he called the lectures "history of thought." His lecture "The Future of Philosophy," delivered in 1929 at Shanghai Datong Secondary School, contained some quite absolutist words. The text of the lecture remained within the family, unpublished until its appearance in *Collected Writings of Hu Shih*. In the lecture, Hu Shih asserted: "The philosophy of the past was childish and mistaken, or failed science." "The earliest thinkers who could be called philosophers were Mencius and Xunzi, who talked randomly about human nature being good or bad." "Any question that has been answered by science should receive a scientific solution." "Any questions that science considers unsolvable for the moment should remain as unsettled." "Any question that science does not recognize as a question should be abandoned." Hence he suggested "the utter cancellation of philosophy" and declared "philosophy can never answer questions that science has failed to answer. Even if it does propose an answer it would just be a hypothesis, nothing to win the trust of modern man." He added: "Philosophers as such will die out naturally, becoming just a part of ordinary thought," "otherwise, they will not be the thinkers of the future, simply the metaphysical ghosts of the past." "There will be only one type of knowledge in the future: namely, scientific knowledge. In the future, there will be only one way to real knowledge and thought: namely, scientific experiment. In the future, there will only be thinkers: philosophers will not exist." So the reason for turning from

14. Hu Shih, Ji Xianlin (ed.), *Collected Writings of Hu Shih*, Vol. 23, Hefei: Anhui Education Publishing House, 2003, p. 435.

history of philosophy to history of thought lay in his belief that "In the future, there will only be thinkers: philosophers will not exist." Their proven thoughts would become a part of science, and unproven thoughts would be called unconfirmed hypotheses.[15]

I have discussed this major change in Hu Shih's attitude in a short paper.[16] Aside from Fu Ssu-nien's personal influence, perhaps current trends had something to do with this change, a time summed up in a comment by Zhu Zhixin (1885-1920): "if you hadn't gone to study in Europe you had no standing to open your mouth."[17] So the latest trend in Western intellectual circles would be reflected almost immediately among Chinese intellectuals. Around the 1930s in Western countries there was evident suspicion of or even "cancellation" of traditional philosophy. Hu Shih's mentor John Dewey (1859-1952) supported "reconstructing philosophy," and in Europe the Vienna School was just emerging. "The End of Philosophy as Metaphysics" in the *Cambridge History of Philosophy (1870-1945)* describes the rise of Wittgenstein (1889-1951) and logical positivism, and introduced the concepts of philosophy as metaphysics and "the end of philosophy."[18] However, Hu Shih's assertion that science would completely supplant philosophy is too extreme. In Dewey's perspective, philosophy and science were both a kind of experimental cognitive methodology. The Vienna School held that philosophy in the forms of logic or semantics could still serve as a tool for linguistic or conceptual analysis. In other words, Western notions generally abandoned belief in philosophy's "ultimate truth," and left philosophy a somewhat humble status.[19] Since "truth" was seen as being located in the most recent developments in Western philosophy, it was inevitable that Hu Shih would be sensitive to the

15. Hu Shih, Ji Xianlin (ed.), *Collected Writings of Hu Shih*, Vol. 8, pp. 6-8.

16. See Wang Fan-sen, *The Influence of Fu Ssu-nien on Hu Shih's Views on Literature and History*, pp. 309-332.

17. In "Scholars' Conscience" Zhu Zhixin recorded that Zhang Shi-zhao came in for criticism from all sides for his lecture at Shanghai Global Chinese Students Union in September 1919. Finally, he had to climb down, using the words: "After Zhang got sick, he came to this realization: if you hadn't gone to study in Europe you had no standing to open your mouth." See *Collected Letters of Zhu Zhixin* (Volume II), Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1979, p. 660.

18. This idea undoubtedly held sway among many. For related discussions see: Simon Glendinning, "The End of Philosophy as Metaphysics"; Rom Harré, "Positivist Thought in the Nineteenth Century"; Alan Richardson, "The Scientific World Conception: Logical Positivism"; in Thomas Baldwin ed., *The Cambridge History of Philosophy* 1870-1945 (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 565-577, 11-26, 391-400.

19. This was a commonly held attitude in the emerging period of modern science. Locke, for example, said that philosophers were responsible only for clearing the foundation, waiting for masters like Newton and Boyle to build the mansion of knowledge.

dominance of empiricism and logical positivism.[20]

Not one word of Hu Shih's "The Future of Philosophy" appeared officially in print, but he made this record in his diary on the same day that he delivered this speech: "The cancellation of philosophy has answered all the questions capable of being answered." In 1929, he abandoned his *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Volume II) and turned to writing *A Long Compilation of Chinese Medieval Thought*. When the Commercial Press took his *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Volume I) into its "universal library," its title was changed to *History of Ancient Chinese Philosophy*,[21] and he planned to rewrite *Outline of the History of Ancient Chinese Thought*. All of the foregoings were important indicators of his intellectual journey.

More importantly, in the 1930s, Hu Shih actually advocated doing away with the philosophy department and cancelling philosophy. He proclaimed that it was the bankrupt of philosophy. In *Miscellaneous Memories of Teachers and Friends*, Ch'ien Mu (1895-1990) wrote: Hu Shih was the first professor to teach Western philosophy in Peking University, so it was actually quite shocking at the time that this pioneer should propose to do away with the philosophy department.[22] Hu Shih taught Western philosophy for many years, and there are frequent mentions of Descartes and Hobbes in his diaries. Nevertheless, around this time, he proposed that the philosophy department be discontinued. Ren Jiyu (1916-2009) was a student in the philosophy department of Peking University from 1934 to 1938. In an interview given in his later years, he remembered two striking things: "Hu Shih considered that China did not have philosophy, only thought. There was no system within Chinese philosophy. His underestimation of the subject led him to name his course there 'History of Chinese Thought' and not 'History of Chinese Philosophy'...Since he was the dean of the College of Arts, he had the power to decide the title of the course.[23] Of course, we cannot say that Hu Shih and "philosophy" went their separate ways and that he then after never mentioned philosophy. But there is indeed a slight difference: "history of philosophy" and "history of thought" are different, the former being systematic and latter being thought emerging during an era and representing a particular time.

Using the "history of thought" approach and the "history of philosophy" approach are absolutely different. According to Hu Shih, "history of thought" could be used to write about every era, covering Taoist practice, Buddhism and

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20. See Leszek Kolakowski, *The Alienation of Reason: A History of Positivist Thought* (NY: Anchor Books, Doubleday, 1969), especially Chapter Five.
21. See East China Normal University Library (ed.), *Index of Hu Shih's Works*, Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1984, p. 17.
22. See Qian Mu, *Remembering Parents at Eighty: Random Memories of Teachers and Friends*, Beijing: Sanlian Bookstore, 2005, p. 161.
23. Lin Xiang (ed.), *Centenarians' Words: Ren Jiyu*, Shenyang: Liaoning Publishing House, 1999, p. 47.

many other things that he held in contempt. They represented the thought of that time, and therefore, in *History of Qing Dynasty Thought* he said: "We attach importance to representative thinkers of that era but not to Neo-Confucianists inheriting traditions from the Song and Ming dynasties. We prefer novel writers like Wu Ching-tze and Li Ju-chen over Neo-Confucianists like Tang Bin and Zhang Boxing."[24]

As I see it, Hu Shih's movement away from history of philosophy to history of thought represents the change in his overall academic viewpoint. From this time on, he gave more weight to history and Sinology, seeing less value in philosophy and theories. He identified himself not as a historian of philosophy, but as a historian of thought.[25] Once, when Hu Shih wrote calligraphy for others, he preferred to write the words of the Song Dynasty philosopher Zhu Xi (1130-1200): "Prefer detail over omission, fundamentals over far-off things, plainness over fussiness, and straightforwardness over tricks." Actually, this sentence refers to work on history rather than philosophy. In an introduction to his unpublished *Brief History of Chinese Philosophy*, Hu Shih stressed his intention of pursuing philosophy via history: "Because I'm unhappy with the general discussion of philosophy in the absence of any historical system, I want to write a general discussion that does have a historical character. Therefore, my first aim in this book is to examine whether or not a historical vision can be used in a general discussion of philosophy."[26]

II

Next, I want to address Hu Shih's transition from *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Volume I) to *An Outline of the History of Chinese Thought by Hu Shih*. The former is an adaptation of his doctoral dissertation thesis *The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China*. This dissertation was obviously at odds with the views of Friedrich Hirth (1845-1927), the Columbia professor testing Hu's oral defense of his dissertation. Hirth favored Confucianism, as can be seen from the approving preface he wrote for Chen Huan-chang (1880-1933)'s *The Economic Principles of Confucius and His School*. Chen's *Economic Principles* and Hu's *Outline* are at opposite ends of the spectrum. Hu's work was critical and skeptical of the past whereas Chen's book wanted to uphold and carry forward the modern value and fiscal wisdom of Confucianism. Hirth preferred the latter. We have long paid attention to Dewey's favorable opinion of Hu Shih. Hirth,

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24. Geng Yunzhi (ed.), *Manuscripts and Secret Letters of Hu Shih*, Vol. 7, Hefei: Huangshan Publishing House, 1994, p. 38.
25. See Tang Degang's translation with annotations, *Hu Shih's A Personal Reminiscences of Dr. Hu Shih*, Taipei: Biography Publishing House, 1981, p. 39.
26. Hu Shih, Ji Xianlin (ed.), *Collected Writings of Hu Shih*, Vol. 7, p. 271.

on the other hand, preferred works such as *The Economic Principles of Confucius and His School*, and had a totally different opinion from Dewey.[27]

Cai Yuanpei's preface to *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Volume I) is very decisive in tone, and highlights four points: proof methodology,

27. On October 15, 1911, Hirth wrote a preface for Chen Huan-chang's *The Economic Principles of Confucius and His School*: "Western readers will find in his book the representation of Confucianism from the purely Confucianist point of view by an author who is a Confucianist himself and has had the advantage of sifting his ideas through the methods of western science." (Chen Huan-chang, *The Economic Principles of Confucius and His School*, Changsha: Yuelu Press, 2005, p. vii). Hirth expressed total endorsement of Chen's book, considering it to truly represent the Confucian perspective. *The Economic Principles of Confucius and His School* is structured according to the "three legitimacies" (those of Xia, Shang and Zhou) and the "three societies" (an evolution theory positing a process of social development from occupying a chaotic society, governing the society into relative stability, ultimately creating a peaceful world). Its narrative started from Fu Hsi. Hirth's own work, *The Ancient History of China to the End of the Chóu Dynasty* (New York: The Columbia University Press, 1908) also started with Fu Hsi. The main question at the start of the book was that of "western origin," a concept causing great controversy at the time. Chinese believe that Chinese civilization originated from local lands including Shaanxi and Gansu provinces, and had nothing to do with sources to the west. Hirth's book started with Pan Gu, Emperor of Heaven, Emperor of Land, Emperor of Human, Fu Hsi, Nuwa, Shennong, Huangdi, Cangjie, Shaohao, etc. He was writing with just one clear concept in mind: all the foregoing names mentioned might be a "myths and legends," but even so should be recorded as history. This idea is clearly different from what is shown in Hu Shih's English-language *The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China*, which, in contrast to Hirth and Chen Huan-chang, eliminates these people and begins only with pre-Qin thinkers. However, Hu's preface advocating "setting aside all other origins" was written during his return journey to China following a short stay at Japan in 1927. In this he says how people are unaware of the oppressive burden imposed by Chinese tradition. Also, he criticized *Guan Tze*, *Yanzi Chunqiu* and other dubious ancient books, and only partially accepted *Chuang-tze* and *Hsun-tzu*. He intentionally omitted *Shang Shu* apart from some believable chapters. Almost all the Confucian classics were treated with great skepticism, and he utterly abandoned all ancient books that he did not totally trust. The attitudes evident in this preface were consistent with the criticism in his 1919 work *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy (Volume I)* as regards materials vaunted as history. In *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Volume I), he slammed the talking up of "ancient philosophy" and "philosophy of the Tang and Yu Eras" without ever questioning the historicity of their materials. He said: "Everything about the Tang, Yu, Xia and Shang was based on *Shang Shu*, whose historical validity remains to be proven. *Shang Shu* has no value as historical material." (Hu Shih, *History of Ancient Chinese Philosophy*, pp. 20-21). In Hirth's brief third-person autobiography in German, (Friedrich Hirth, "Biographisches nach eigenen Aufzeichnungen") there is no mention of Confucianism nor of his life at Columbia University, nor the name of Hu Shih. There is just a brief explanation of the courses he offered and his private contacts with Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao, and Sun Yat-sen. He also mentioned that Kang Youwei visited him quite often during the latter's short stay in New York City.

concise approach, fairness, systematic study. Under "concise approach" he noted the importance of "setting aside all other origins and starting with Lao Tze and Confucius." By this he meant taking Lao Tze as the starting point, and ignoring Fu Hsi, Yao, Shun, Yu and Tang. His approach to the history of philosophy is centered on criticism of historical documents. Hu Shih was deeply influenced by J. E. Creighton when taking the latter's course on the history of Western philosophy at Cornell University. On the writing of philosophical history, Creighton put great emphasis on historical documents, the temporal context, and the chronological sequence of thought development, without which history would be unreliable.[28] People tend to notice Dewey's impact and ignore Creighton's when reading Hu Shih's *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Volume I). In fact, Hu Shih was also influenced by the European tradition of idealism during his stay in Cornell. In *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Volume I) he also listed references consulted from Western academia including Windelband, another major influence. Therefore the following points are evident in *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Volume I): first, concepts of Western philosophy and history of philosophy are systematically applied to clarify ancient Chinese philosophy;[29] second, the ancient documents are approached with a very high degree of skepticism. Hu Shih wanted to re-evoke the systems, teachings and origins of the philosophical schools, and criticized old books for their lack of clarity in style, wishing to resurrect the true ideas of different schools. In Hu Shih's eyes it just would not do to confuse "the chronological sequence of the various schools system" or "the system by which they interacted." For example, Hu considered Guan Tze an inauthentic work that could not be used as a historical document to study Guan Zhong's times. Such comments are absent in Xie Wuliang's book, which accepts *Guan Tze* as surely representing Guan Zhong. In Hu Shih's view, historical source materials must undergo critical appraisal.

A clear theme stands out in Hu's *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Volume I), namely the theory of evolution. For instance, when writing about Chuang-tzu, he observed: "The ten thousand things all come from the same seed, and in their different forms they give place to one another," an idea that he identified as "biological evolutionism." At that time, some people argued that Ma Xulun (1885-1970) plagiarized this notion from Hu Shih. But Ma considered he had inherited it from Zhang Taiyan (1869-1936). It was something of a *cause celebre*

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28. In *Performing Masculinity and the Self: Love, Body, and Privacy in Hu Shih*, Chiang Yung-chen notes Creighton's influence on Hu Shih's *History of Ancient Chinese Philosophy*. Hu remarked that "the objectivity in dealing with history of thought at every stage impressed me most, and it also revived my interest in philosophy, especially Chinese philosophy" (p. 307). Chiang Yung-chen considered that Hu's major influence in the writing of *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Volume I) was by Creighton rather than by Dewey. The theme of Creighton's philosophy course included "dialectics in this century, with particular emphasis on the philosophical meaning and importance of the concept of evolution" (p. 286).

29. When Hu Shih explained the intention of writing this book, he made it clear that he wanted to talk about theory of knowledge, ontology, ethics, education philosophy and political philosophy, etc.

in the *Peking University Daily*.[30] Later, in the preface to the Taipei edition, Hu said that his notion was just a daring remark of a young man, a complete mistake, and that Chuang-tzu had nothing to say about biological evolution. As mentioned above, during his time in Cornell, Hu Shih was very much influenced by Creighton's heavy emphasis on the applicability of evolutionary theory to modern Western philosophy. So the common theme in his book when talking about pre-Qin thinkers is thought on biological evolution or evolution. This represents the core of Hu Shih's discussions of Mo Tze, Hsun Tzu, and many others. All theory is a process not a static end point: a process or a stage in development.[31]

Hu Shih said: "As regards ancient history before the Eastern Zhou Dynasty, a skeptical attitude is the only one to adopt." Blind faith in ancient books was inadvisable, since nothing before the Qin was reliable. "Probably 80 to 90 percent of *Chuang-tzu* is fabricated, and only 10 to 20 percent of *Han Feizi* is reliable." The *Zuo Zhuan* was dubious too. "Whether or not *Shang Shu* can be used as historical material is hard to decide.…But it certainly has no value as a historical materials. The only ancient book that can be counted as China's oldest historical material is *The Book of Songs*."[32] In 1919, the year that *Outline* was published, his attitude was one of great suspicion of all material predating the Eastern Zhou: The *Shang Shu* and *Zuo Zhuan* did not stand up as historical material, so the book has very little content on social background. The most heavily quoted source is *The Book of Songs* referring to the chaos and displacement of people as the result of war.[33] But in *An Outline of the History of Chinese Thought by Hu Shih* of 1944, a big change is evident. The change went generally unnoticed, since people back then were not so clear about his attitude towards the history of Chinese thought as a whole. In fact, it would be possible to detect the change though the evidence in his articles, though it is not laid out as systematically as in his book. "Development theory," the term used in this book sees every theory as a process with two extremes, not a static, unchanging or finished thing as they are depicted in ancient Confucian classics.

References from Western philosophy are another feature of *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Volume I). Hu Shih wrote *The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China* in English, and now there is a version in Chinese. Its preface makes very clear his concern for reality and his attempt to bring back to life the logic and thoughts of pre-Qin thinkers by applying the logical methodology of Western philosophy, his aim being to reform China's inherited mindset in which logic was absent. Thus, he was quite clear about the need to review pre-Qin thought

30. See Fu Ssu-nien, "*Reading Notes on Zhuang Tze* by Ma Xulun", originally published in *New Tide*, Vol. 1, No.1 (Jan 1,1919), in *Collected Writings of Fu Ssu-nien*, Vol. 4, Taipei: Linking Publishing Co., Ltd., 1980, pp. 1420-1425; Ma Xulun, "Explaining *Reading Notes on Zhuang Tze in New Tide*," Peking University Daily, Vol. 190, 191, 192 (Jan 1919).

31. See Hu Shih, *Experimentalism, Mr. Dewey and China*, collected in Hu Shih, Ji Xianlin (ed.), *Collected Writings of Hu Shih*, Vol. 1, pp. 277-323, 360-362.

32. Hu Shih, *History of Ancient Chinese Philosophy*, p.12, p. 22.

33. When working with Hu Shih at Peking University, Qian Mu asked him the question directly. See *Remembering Parents at Eighty: Random Memories of Teachers and Friends*, p. 158.

using western logic. Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) and Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) are just two of the Western philosophical influences that abound in this book. Hu considered that Eastern and Western philosophy could mutually prove and innovate each other, because of their general physical and mental correspondences.[34] For instance, he considered Lao Tze to be the equivalent of "natural law" in the West, and believed the various pre-Qin schools to contain the idea of evolution. Many asked Hu Shih why, after being appointed the head of Academia Sinica in Taipei, he did not complete the second and third volumes of *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy*. His questioners certainly had no idea that his viewpoint had changed, that what he now wanted to do was to write and complete a *History of Chinese Thought*, and that some of those viewpoints would differ from those in *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy*.

In *An Outline of the History of Chinese Thought by Hu Shih* of 1945, when comparing ancient Chinese thought with Greek, Roman and European thoughts he mentions "why I'm talking about the history of thought and not about the history of philosophy." His remark seems to show that writing a history of philosophy necessarily involves a systematic application of Western philosophical standards of epistemology and ontology. However, having completed the pre-Qin section he wanted to continue that way but this wouldn't work; much of what he next tackled was about religion, Buddhism and Taoism or miscellaneous content. According to Hu's strict criteria at least, such things did not qualify as "philosophy."

To my mind this Outline, written in 1944, 25 years after the publication of *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Volume I) in 1919 has many features distinguishing it from the earlier publication. Many of Hu Shih's perspectives had changed in the intervening quarter of a century.[35] Here are some examples. First of all, Hu Shih's critical attitude towards historical documents did not change very much but his antagonism was not as passionate as previously. Most importantly, he recognized the extremely long history of ancient China, and gave great weight to the 15 archaeological excavations undertaken at the Yin Ruins site by the Institute of History and Philology. I think that the findings taken from the excavation had the effect of changing his mind on many things in antiquity. Therefore, in this book, he paid attention to Fu Ssu-nien's *Theory of the Yi in the East and the Xia in the West*,, to the studies of Dong Zuobin, and his views on Eastern and Western blocs.

Hu Shih was actually using this background to explain ancient Chinese thought. He also observed that many archaeological finding predating Confucius and Lao Tze were perhaps related to thought, in contrast to his stance in *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Volume I) that everything should begin with Lao

34. See Hu Shih, *History of Ancient Chinese Philosophy*, pp. 28-29.

35. This is not to imply that Hu Shih wrote no essays on the history of thought thereafter: several volumes in *Collected Writings of Hu Shih* deal with history of thought. However, this particular *Outline* is more systematic in his explanation, making apparent the changes he made during these 25 years.

Tze.[36] Because his focus was gradually shifting from the history of philosophy to the history of thought, he paid great attention to the impact of contemporary archaeological findings on the history of thought. This made it possible for him to talk about Chinese thought starting with religion in the Shang Dynasty and human sacrifices and the like.

As mentioned above, *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Volume I) aimed to "set aside all other origins" and its starting point was Lao Tze, whereas in *An Outline of the History of Chinese Thought by Hu Shih*, Hu Shih expended a great deal of ink on the general picture of thought prior to Lao Tze. He considered that Chinese characters were certainly very ancient in origin, in contrast to his past pronouncement that "in light of our current archaeological capability, as regards ancient history before the Eastern Zhou Dynasty, a skeptical attitude is the only one to adopt." He also cited materials from *Zuo Zhuan* and *Shang Shu*, sources he had characterized as unbelievable in *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Volume I) (Kang Youwei said *Zuo Zhuan* was fabricated). His views had changed. He was more willing to admit the believability of many things, given the archaeological evidence. Another point merits our attention, namely the origin of pre-Qin thinkers. Hu's first *Outline* denied that their origins were officials, and refused to put trust in the *Shang Shu* and *Zuo Zhuan*. Therefore, it followed the Taoist *Huainanzi* collection in stating that pre-Qin thinkers rose from "saviours." In *An Outline of the History of Chinese Thought*, Hu Shih brought in the background to the religion and thought of pre-Qin thinkers, but there is as yet no mention of their coming from the realms of officialdom.

Of course, this new *Outline*, put together from 1,554 pieces of paper, covers his views on the history of thought formulated over previous decades. Even so, some perspectives remain the same: despite studying Buddhism and Taoism thoroughly, he took a sneering attitude to both of them. He attached great importance to the "Indianization" of medieval China. At the Tercentenary of Harvard University he was invited to present a paper. The result was "*The Indianization of Ancient China*."[37] Even today, this still seems to me very insightful and valuable. The paper described the important changes in general views on the world, time and life following the introduction to China of medieval Buddhism. In his "Indianization" paper, he made many previously unmade comparisons and cited many aspects of Buddhism reflected in Chinese daily life.

He continued to be quite critical of Neo-Confucianism. His view was diametrically opposed to that of Chen Yinque who regarded the Song Dynasty as

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36. He was very displeased with Fung Yu-lan's taking Confucius as his point of departure. When Fung's *A Brief History of Chinese Philosophy* came out, Yang Lien-sheng was teaching at Harvard University and published a review of it in English in the U.S. In a letter that Hu Shih wrote to Yang he said: "You went too easy on it. You should have criticized it more harshly. This book is a disaster." Hu Shih Memorial Hall (ed.), *On Academics and Poetry over Twenty Years: Letters between Hu Shih and Yang Lien-sheng*, Taipei: Linking Publishing Co., Ltd., 1988, p. 99.

37. "*The Indianization of China: A Case Study in Cultural Borrowing*," collected in Hu Shih, Ji Xianlin (ed.), *Collected Writings of Hu Shih*, Vol. 37, pp. 328-364.

possessing the brightest and most brilliant thoughts and scholars. In illustrating Chinese history he would use comparisons and expressions familiar to Americans. For example, he made the analogy between the Eastern Zhou and the Eastern Roman Empire; the Song Dynasty Reform and its followers he likened to the New Deal of Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882-1945); the *Old Testament* was the pre-Confucius era and the *New Testament* was the post-Confucius era. We translate "*lixue*" as Neo-Confucianism, but Hu Shih translated it as Rational Philosophy. But his description of some new branches of Neo-Confucianism was too inactive and passive. He thought Shao Yong (1011-1077) and Zhou Dunyi (1017-1073) were all Taoist Thinkers. Of course he stopped his narrative in the Qing Dynasty at Yan Yuan (1635-1704) and Li Gong (1659-1733). It was not until a few years ago, when reading the writings of Mei Guangdi (1890-1945) and seeing the letters that passed between the two, that I realized that early on Hu Shih was quite positive about Neo-Confucianism and anti Yan Yuan. But Mei Guangdi, later to become his rival, took an opposite position. Afterwards, these two people with diametrically different views became the fiercest rivals within the New Culture Movement.[38]

That said, there is a consistent thread in Hu Shih's academic attitudes. In *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Volume I), he wrote: "In light of our current archaeological capability, as regards ancient history before the Eastern Zhou Dynasty, a skeptical attitude is the only one to adopt."[39] Likewise in *My View of Ancient History* in *Discussions on Antiquity* (Volume I), he wrote: "Now, we shall shrink ancient history for two-to-three thousand years and begin with the *Book of Songs*. In the future, once epigraphy and archaeology have developed more scientifically, based on the unearthing of historical discoveries, we can lengthen the period of ancient history to pre-Eastern Zhou."[40] Implicit in this remark is the possibility of his changing his mind in light of archaeological finds. The copious examples from archaeological materials in *An Outline of the History of Chinese Thought by Hu Shih* illustrating Peking man, the Paleolithic Age and Neolithic Age demonstrate his consistency in academic attitudes. Back then there were no discovered relics from the Xia Dynasty, so Xia was not mentioned in *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Volume I). The opposite was the case with Shang, owing to the abundance of Shang-related findings.

From the above discussions, we see important changes in Hu Shih in the more than two decades following the May 4th Movement of 1919. The changes can be divided into two parts: one, his attitude toward philosophy; the other, his reevaluation of ancient Chinese thought. In the past, some people thought that Hu Shih stopped work on his second volume because he got bogged down in Buddhism,

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38. See Mei Guangdi, *Forty-six Letters to Hu Shih*, Letter Three, collected in Luo Gang (et al., ed.), *Mei Guangdi Collection*, Shenyang: Liaoning Education Publishing House, 2001, pp.113-116. Hu Shih got to know Mei Guangdi at a very young age. Even then, Mei foresaw that Hu would rise to the highest ranks of academia.
39. Hu Shih, *History of Ancient Chinese Philosophy*, p. 22.
40. Gu Jiegang (ed.), *Arguments on Ancient History*, Vol. 1, Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1982, p. 22.

concepts he could not handle with the same ease he showed with pre-Qin thinkers. Now we see another reason, namely a sea change in his attitude and his turning from history of philosophy to history of thought. Of course, some people were perplexed: despite majoring in philosophy he was behaving like a Sinologist and they castigated him for the spreading of left-wing thought allowed partially by his lack of action in resisting it from the standpoint of philosophy and thought. Before Hu Shih finally left the Chinese mainland for Taiwan, he mounted an exhibition of the *Shuijingzhu* in Beijing, which met a divided reception, some being very anti and some being very positive.

Hu Shih used to explain the pre-Qin thinkers using the standards and norms of Western philosophy. In *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Volume I), he repeatedly said: "My comparative reference materials are Western philosophy."[41] He used Eastern and Western philosophy to mutually prove and illuminate the other, but this did not imply that what they had we also had, so justifying a sense of national glory and boasting ourselves. Even so, he still hoped for communication and mutual influence between these two branches of philosophy, so "perhaps in fifty or a hundred years' time this might engender a world philosophy."[42] This wording expresses a belief in universal philosophy, but it is different from the view held by supporters of "history of thought." Also his shift from "history of philosophy" to "history of thought" reflects a trend away from the "universal" to placing more emphasis on history and culture. The thoughts of every era were worth writing about, not just the thought of certain important stages and those consistent with "the history of philosophy." He said, the orthodox philosophy of which Liang Shu-ming (1893-1988) and Liang Qichao (1873-1929) wrote existed for a time 800 years earlier and later vanished, with seemingly nothing since then to represent it.[43]

After this time, the reality was that Hu Shih gradually distanced himself from the field of Chinese philosophy, as can be detected from the *Hu Shih Diaries*. At that time when the Chinese Philosophy Society (1935) and *Philosophy Review* were established, he participated in the planning process, but for a variety of reasons he went to the U.S. where he took no active part in philosophical circles, gravitating to the world of history and Sinology.

At the time some critics attributed the failure to counter left-wing ideas to the fact that leading figures among the intelligentsia gravitated toward philology and abandoned questions of philosophy and thought. Fu Ssu-nien, for instance, included this reflection in his notebook on returning to China from studying in the U.S.[44] Perhaps the reflection was directed towards the gradual turning away from

41. Hu Shih, *History of Ancient Chinese Philosophy*, p. 29.

42. Hu Shih, *History of Ancient Chinese Philosophy*, p. 5.

43. In my opinion, there is an important difference between Hu Shih and other historians of philosophy after he transferred his allegiance to history of thought. At the time, those who favored philosophy considered it to have modern value since it could be measured by the standards Western of philosophy. When Hu Shih turned to history of thought, he did not consider it all valuable. His chief work was that of a historian recording changes in thought in each and every era. These were two different attitudes.

44. See Wang Fan-sen, *Fu Ssu-nien: Individual Lives in Chinese Modern History and Politics*, pp. 244-250.

philosophy by Hu Shih and others. Hu Shih was a core figure among scholars at the time, but his main focus had already shifted. Fung Yu-lan (1895-1990), He Lin (1902-1992), and Huang Zitong (1887-1979) became the central figures of the philosophy circle, while another group of people was involved with the Chinese Philosophy Society and *Philosophy Review*. I think that the gradual separation of the two groups was a 1930s phenomenon. He Lin wrote in *Culture and Life* that he thought, after 1930, some people in the philosophical circles (himself included) were focusing on matters of philosophy, value and life actualization while others in that world were tending towards depersonalization.[45] He of course meant the people within the philosophy circle.

However, despite being a committed member of the philosophy camp, Fung Yu-lan was different from other traditional philosophers. Ren Jiyu said: "For example, when Fung was lecturing, he had to be clearcut about everything he wanted to speak on. But there are some things in Chinese philosophy that can only be comprehended directly, can be intuited but not transmitted through words. This part of our philosophy is the core part of it…But Fung just refused to acknowledge it."[46] This caused Fung to value analysis and not intuitive feelings. This feature is also evident in *Neo-Confucianism (Xin Lixue)* in *Zhenyuan Liu Shu*, which perpetuated the distance between himself and other philosophers, particularly those engaged with Neo-Confucianism.

Conclusion

In the foregoing, I have focused discussion on two issues by analyzing the English text of Hu Shih's lecture outline at Harvard University. First, I discussed the movement in his middle years away from "philosophy" and the transition from "history of philosophy" to "history of thought." This change of direction had a great impact on his academic work, and he even proposed abolishing Peking University's philosophy department. Also, because of this transition, he gradually parted ways with this important academic circle, and, perhaps because of this, put up no opposition to left-wing thoughts on the intellectual and philosophical battleground. Second, by comparing *Outline of the History of Chinese Philosophy* (Volume I) and *An Outline of the History of Chinese Thought by Hu Shih*, which was written 25 years later, I have teased out several huge changes of attitude on certain academic issues. Given Hu Shih's pivotal position in modern history of thought, the influences exerted by these two changes of direction are really major and fully merit our attention.

Wang Fan-sen

Distinguished Research Fellow, Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica

45. See He Lin, *Culture and Life*, Shanghai: Shanghai Literature and Art Publishing House, 2001, p. 85.

46. Lin Xiang (ed.), *Centenarians' Words: Ren Jiyu*, pp. 46-47.

Chapter 1
Beginnings of Chinese Thought

Beginnings of Chinese Thought

1. The Peking Man (Sinanthropus Pekinensis) found in 1927-1929 and later

(次第)
(1) *Pithecanthropus* (Java Man)（猿人）
(2) Peking Man
(3) Neanderthal Man (Rhine Valley)

2. The Palaeolithic Culture found in 1922-1929

(1) Ordos region
(2) Yellow River Valley between Shensi & Shansi
(3) Near the Peking Man (1933-1934)
(But not Chinese)

3. The Neolithic Cultures found in 1921-1933

(1) Yangshao (Honan)
(Painted pottery)
(2) Sha Kuo T'un (Feng Tien)
(3) Ch'eng Tzŭ Yai (Shantung)
(Black pottery)
(Divination by burning oracles in bones)

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The Shang Culture

盘庚 (P'an Keng)—the Conquest
(1383-1111 B.C., according to Tung Tso-pin)
[According to Tung, total of Shang Period was 629 years (1740-1111 B.C.)]
Planned excavations

Settled Agricultural Life

1. Domesticated animals—including sheep, ox, horses

2. Grains—Millet
   Wheat
   Rice (?)

3. Hunting

4. Liquor making

Handicraft & Industry

1. Stone implements

2. Bronze implements

3. Silk-Culture

4. Weaving

5. Pottery—some white clay pottery, not glazed, the beginning of porcelain. Some are crudely glazed.

Trade & Commerce

1. Use of the shells of the cowry (cowrie) as money

2. Tortoise shells probably a form of money too

3. Bronze vessels as a form of wealth

4. The term 商 (merchant)

Art

1. Bronze

Made of 83% copper & 17% tin, the Shang Bronze is considered as "undoubtedly the finest things of their sort in the world." Creel says: "In fact, they (the Shang bronze ritual vessels) are probably the most exquisite objects which men have ever created from metal, regardless of time or place." (*The Birth of China*, p. 108)

2. Sculpture

3. Music

埙 (Hsüan) 梁思永说, 能吹作 do re mi fa 四音。
Creel (p. 101)

The Place of Chinese Thought

1. Chinese

2. Indian

3. Hebrew

4. Greco-Roman

Why "Thought" and not "Philosophy"?

Shang (Yin)

According to Tung Tso-pin, 1783-1123 B.C., Shang at Anyang, 1385-1123 B.C., = 262 years.

Anyang Excavations

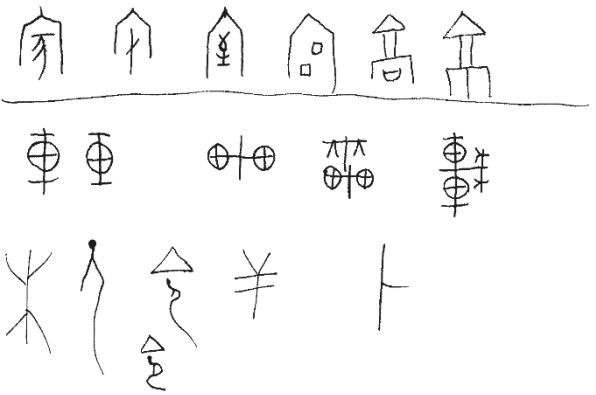
✓ 小屯
✓ 小屯 (后五次)
✓ ① 1928 (Oct.) 有字甲骨 784
✓ ② 1929 (March-May) 有字甲骨 684
✓ ③ 1929 (Oct.-Dec.) 大龟四版，石雕人像
有字甲骨 300
✓ ④ 1931 (March-May) 有字甲骨 781
✓ ⑤ 1931 (Nov.-Dec.) 有字甲骨 381
✓ ⑥ 1932 (April-May)
✓ ⑦ 1932 (Oct.-Nov.) 遗物5801件，中有以墨书之白陶片。
✓ ⑧ 1933 (Oct.-Dec.)
✓ ⑨ 1934 (March-May) 大龟七版
⑩ 1934 (Oct.-Dec.) 无头十躯葬，人头坑
⑪ 1935 (March-June)
⑫ 1935 (Aug.-Dec.)
✓ ⑬ 1936 (March-June) 约甲骨 17,000片
✓ ⑭ 1936 (Sept.-Dec.)
✓ ⑮ 1937 (March-June 19th)

Science & Thought

1. Writing

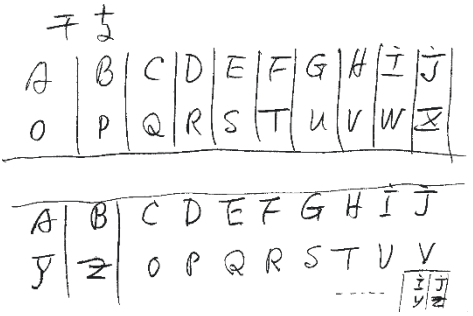
(1) the oracle bones
(2) the early bronze
So far the Shang writings are the earliest written records preserved.
(Tung divided these into 5 periods.)

But even these were often so highly "stylized" and conventionalized that we must presuppose a long period of development in writing.



2. Calendar Making in the Shang Period

(1) The use of 干支 (Cycle of 60) in dating the days
(2) The calculation of the lunar month (太阴月), 29-30
(3) The calculation of the solar year (太阳年), 366
(4) The intercalary days or month (十三月)
(5) The recording of eclipses of the moon & sun



Calendar-making gives us the best measurement of the mathematical knowledge of the time.

Religious Belief ①

1. Ancestor-worship

42 male ancestors and brothers of male ancestors are mentioned in these records as objects of worship & sacrifices.

Sacrifices were very frequent. So much so that the "year" was called by the Shangs as the Szŭ (祀), "the cycle of sacrifices."

Religion ②

Sacrifices	War
Travel	Crops
Hunting	Rain, Weather
Fishing	Sickness

Divination and the Official Diviners (贞人)
Recording of the questions asked, after the divination
The divination records of the same year are filed together.
The beginning of historical records
The historian was originally a priest.

Religion ④[1]

1. The evolution of concept of Ti 帝 *, not merely a religion of ancestor-worship*

(1) A tribe god—the ancestor of the Shangs
Ti Ku 帝喾 (帝夋)
(2) Specially honored ancestors—Ti Kia 帝甲
Ti I
(3) A special and solemn form of sacrifice to those entitled "Ti"
(4) Ti or Shang Ti—God or Supreme God (Only one bone found bearing "Shang Ti")

There were numerous bones recording Divinations asking Ti for rains, for good crops, or requesting that He cause no famine to befall the nation.

A tribal god had become the Supreme God who could bless or punish, who controlled the rains, the floods, the weather, & the crops.

Religion ⑤

2. The evolution of the concept of Tien

(1) Heavens (sky)
(2) God

Religion ⑥

The evolution of the concept of *Ming* —order or decree [from Heaven]

(After Shang)

Mling { *Ling* / *Ming* } —— Fate (命)

Thus it was right to say that the Shang Religion was not merely one of ancestor worship. In the course of centuries, they had developed a conception of a supreme God (Ti) and a conception of a Providential Mandate, or Divine Order. From these basic conceptions, there came:

1. *Tien Ming* 天命 (大诰)
2. *Ti Ming* 帝命 (大雅 文王 周颂)

---

1 Editor's Note: Religion ③ is missing in the original manuscript of this book.

3. *Shang Ti Ming* 上帝命 (大诰) etc.
which formed the central conception of a theistic religion of the Chou people.

A few examples of the Chou religious hymns:

O Mighty Supreme god,
Thou art the ruler of all men.
O Powerful Supreme god,
Thy mandates are exacting!
God gives birth to all men:
But His Decree is never constant.
All may make a good beginning,
But few there are who are steadfast to the end.

Be reverent!
Be reverent!
God is watching over us.
His decree is not easy!
Say not that he is far on high!
He comes down to this earth,
And watches here every day!

In both these hymns and in the many discourses which the Chou leaders proclaimed to the conquered Shang people, there was a central theme, namely, that "the Heavenly Mandate is not constant," that God may withdraw His Mandate whenever a people does not behave rightly.

The Chou leaders of this people preached this doctrine of 天命 to their own people, their own rulers, as well as to their conquered subjects.

The Chou Empire, with its capital at Kao or Hao in the west, and with its powerful feudal states in the east, lasted a little over 250 years.

By the 8th century B.C., it fell, partly by internal corruption & weakness, partly by the pressure of the Northern & Western Barbarians.

The Barbarians overran the Chou capital in 771 B.C. After that, the Chou capital moved to the east and survived for over 500 years.

The *Book of Songs* (Part II & Part III) contains a number of personal poems written in the 9th & 8th centuries B.C.,—the age of the Decline and Fall of the Chou Empire. These poets used very outspoken language in protesting against the political corruption of the Imperial Court, and in condemning the injustices and iniquities done to the people. They cried out to Heaven & to the Supreme God for help and guidance.

The people are now in great peril.
In rain they look to Heaven:
All seems dark and dumb.
If all this is ordained,
There is none that it will not overcome.
O thou great God!
Is it possible that thou hatest anyone!

And they pointed to what they (the Priest-poets) considered as Signs of Warning

from Heaven to the Rulers of Men:

The eclipses of the sun,
The earthquake,
The mountain slide,
etc.

There was one poem inspired by an eclipse of the sun occurring on the 1st day of the 10th month, which has been calculated to have been on August 29, 776 B.C.

If it were an eclipse of the moon,
It would be a normal happening.
But now it is the sun that is in eclipse,
What evil does it portend!
(十月之交)

At the end of this poem, the poet says:

All people are seeking pleasures,
But I alone cannot rest.
As long as the Decree of Heaven is not heeded,
I cannot follow my friends in their complacency.

Thus we find in the Chou literature of the 1st 300 years a theistic religion, in which the people believed in a personal Supreme God who wills, knows, sees, and is capable of rewarding & punishing for good and evil doings and of warning the rulers by such signs as eclipses of the sun and earthquakes.

Evil Aspects of the Religion of Shang

*1. **Theocracy***

(1) Almost complete dependence upon the counsel of the gods & spirits for every act of the ruler & government
(2) Almost every day of the year is occupied by worship & sacrifice.
(3) Undoubtedly—there was an all-powerful priesthood in the government.

*2. **Economic Waste***

(1) Vast cost in huge burial places (葬) and temples of worship (祭)
(2) Vast amount of valuable bronze vessels, & household utensils, weapons of war buried with the dead
(3) Vast number of sacrificial animals (horses, cattle, etc.) used at the worships
用牲之多
胡厚宣《释牢》（《集刊》八本，二分）

卜辞以牛祭者，十牛以上……或五十牛，或百牛，或三百牛，或四百牛。最多者或至五百牛。以牢祭者，十牢以上……或五十牢，或五十五

牢，或百牢，最多者或至三百牢。(= 600 牛)

3. Prevalence of human sacrifices

(1) 殉 (hsün) "guards or companions to the dead,"（十人葬）1934
(2) "伐" (fa) "human sacrifices as offerings at the seasonal worships"
"伐"
①丁丑卜贞王宾武丁，"伐十人"。……
②丙子贞丁丑又父丁，"伐卅羌"。……
③癸未卜御妣庚，"伐廿"
(3) Other forms of human sacrifices—such as the burial of a child & an armed guard in foundations of buildings
(4) Prevalence of drinking
(5) Long period of mourning

The Conquest of the Shang by the Chou People

1. The growth of the Chou people in the West

2. The assimilation of the Eastern culture

3. The conquest (1136-1111 B.C.)

(1) The fall of the great city Shang—1122 B.C.
(2) The conquest of greater Shang—1113-1111 B.C.

The Chou Period 1122-256 B.C.

1. The Western Chou (1122-771 B.C.)
2. The Eastern Chou (770-250 B.C.)

= The "Classical Period"

The Literature of the Pre-Confucian Period: (The "Old Testament")

The Pre-Confucian Classics

1. The *I-ching* (*Yi-King*), the *Book of Change*, a book of Divination, in its earliest

form [i.e., the text of the 64 hexagrams and of the 384 individual lines (or *hsiao*)] belongs to the early centuries of the 1st millen. B.C.,—probably 1000-800 B.C.

Its "modern-language" texts (the Appendices) belong to the Confucian & post-Confucian times.

2. The *Book of Odes* (*B. of Songs*), the *Shih-ching* or *Shi-King*, is a collection of 305 poems, of various dates,—the earliest probably come down from the 2nd millen. B.C., and the latest poem can be definitely dated 621 B.C., the year of the death of the Duke Mu of Ch'in.

Translations:
(1) Legge
(2) Allen
(3) Waley
Contents:
Part I. (Folk songs of 15 areas)
Part II. (1) Songs unclassified
(2) Didactic Poems of Chou
Part III. (1) Early Tribal & National Songs of Chou
(2) Some Didactic Poems
Part IV. Hymns in 3 national groups

3. The *Book of History*, the *Shu Ching* or *Shu-King*, a collection of documents.

(1) The earlier texts, 29 in all, contain about 12 genuinely ancient documents of the period of conquest & conflict (1115-1029 B.C.).

The rest belong to latter part of 1st millen.

(2) The later texts, probably forged in the 3rd century A.D.

4. The *I Li*, 17 Books, the *Book of Ceremony*, at least a part of this collection dates back to the centuries shortly before Confucius; some probably later. It describes and prescribes in detail the ceremonies of

(1) Initiation 冠
(2) Marriage 昏
(3) Feasting
(4) Archery Practice
(5) Diplomatic Procedure
(6) Funeral
(7) Mourning
(8) Sacrifices to the Dead

5. The "Histories"

(1) The *Ch'un Ch'iu* (722-481 B.C.) Chronology,—existing records supposedly revised by Confucius

(2) The Book called *Tso's History* (《左氏春秋》), now called *Tso's Commentary on the* Ch'un Ch'iu (722-468 B.C.)

The Chou people apparently had a theistic (or almost monotheistic) religion. It was probable that they acquired this religion from the Shang people, just as they adopted the tribal god, Ti Ku, of the Shangs as their own ancestor.

生民 (Origin of the Race)

They traced their racial origin to an Immaculate Conception by a virgin who gave birth to a child who grew up to be the First Farmer and the ancestor of the Chou people.

But this people had the religious fervor & zeal of new converts. They took this religion very seriously. And they were inspired by it in all their actions, in their private conduct & in their military & political movements.

They left us a religious literature of great beauty & vigor. Even in their religious hymns and battle hymns, they show great heights in their religious ideas & inspirations.

They clearly felt that God was with them and had given them the Mandate to conquer the degenerate Shangs and save the people from a corrupt and oppressive rule.

> O the great Wen Wang!
> With devout reverence,
> He served the Supreme God,
> And embraced His many blessings.
> He wavered not in his goodness,
> Thereby he obtained his kingdom.
> The armies of Shang
> Are gathering like great forests!
> The King gave the oath at Mu Yeh:
> "O, my hosts, arise!
> God is watching over you!
> Falters not in your hearts!"

The Classical Age

1. Chinese Civilization under the Shangs
2. The Conquest of the Shangs and the Founding of the Chou Empire: the Era of Conflict
3. The *Book of Change* and its Philosophy
4. The *Ju*
5. The General Intellectual Background of the Ch'un Ch'iu Era (722-481 B.C.)
6. Lao Tzu, Representative of the old *Ju*
7. Confucius
8. The School of Confucius
9. Mo Ti
10. The Mo School
11. The Dialecticians (辩者)
12. Chuang Tzu
13. The Philosophy of Individualism (as preserved in the《吕氏春秋》)
14. Mencius
15. Thinkers of the 4th and 3rd Centuries B.C.
    (1) The Anarchists (许行，陈相，陈仲)

(2) Naturalists (慎到，彭蒙，田骈)
(3) The Pacifists (宋钘，尹文)
(4) The New Philosophy of Change (邹衍)
16. Hsun Tzŭ
17. Han Fei
18. The End of the Classical Age
(1) Political Unification
(2) Intellectual Leveling
(3) Philosophical Escape

周易中的史事

卦　爻辞

1. 箕子之明夷（明夷五）
2. 王用享于岐山（升四）
3. 帝乙归妹，以祉元吉。（泰五）
（1）帝乙归妹，其君之袂不如其娣之袂良。（归妹五）
4. 高宗伐鬼方，三年克之，小人勿用。（既济三）
5. 贞吉，悔亡。震用伐鬼方，三年有赏于大国。（未济四）
6. 丧牛于易，凶。（旅上九）
7. 丧羊于易，无悔。（大壮五）

彖辞

明入地中，明夷。内文明而外柔顺，以蒙大难，文王以之。利艰贞，晦其明也。内难而能正其志，箕子以之。（明夷彖）

天地革而四时成。汤武革命，顺乎天而应乎人，革之时大矣哉。（革彖）

履，德之基也　 　天上泽下　卑

谦，德之柄也，　 　地中有山

复，德之本也　 　地中　雷（息）在（默）

恒，德之固也　 　雷风　恒久而不已

损，德之修也　 　山下有泽　损坏

益，德之裕也 风雷（木）

困，德之辨也 泽无水（干涸）

井，德之地也 水(木) 木上有水

巽，德之制也 『随风巽』

The *Ju*

The Period of Conflict

The *Book of History* contains 12 documents which are considered authentic for this period.

Books 35, 37, 38,
39, 40, 41,
42, 43, 44,
46, 47, 50 (+51)

And a number of odes in the *Book of Songs*. (Part III & Part IV)

From the 11th century to the 9th century B.C., the Chou conquerors were able to maintain their military & political power over a population of which the adherents of the Shang religion & culture undoubtedly constituted the vast majority.

In this long contact, there was naturally much harsh conflict, much oppression & suppression, and much resentment.

The priestly class of the Shang people, together with their military & political aristocracy, was reduced to poverty and dependence.

But because of their learning and their specialized knowledge in the performance of religious rites, this priestly class remained the priesthood of the subjugated Shang population. They "spoke the ancient language, wore the ancient dresses & hats, and practiced the ancient rituals."

They moved about in their flowing robes & quaint hats, and made their living out of teaching & performing religious rites, esp. funeral and sacrificial rites.

They were called the *Ju* 儒, meaning "the weak, meek, or humble."

They were still the diviners, the priests, the teachers, not only of their own Shang people, but quite often of the Chou aristocracy & population, who could not possibly escape the power of contact & contagion in their long association with their Shang subjects.

They were called the Weak or the Meek, probably because of their subjugated status, but also because they in the centuries of conquest & subjection had worked out a moral & religious philosophy of life, which may be termed a philosophy of Humility.

What an opposition school (Mo) said of the Ju

> "They love their food & drinks, but they are too lazy to work. So they are often very poor.
>
> "In the summer, they begged for gleanings from the harvesters. When the harvest is over, they go wherever there are grand funerals….
>
> "They live on the wealth of others. And they exalt themselves over the ignorance of the people.
>
> "Whenever they learn of the prospect of a funeral of a rich family, they are overjoyed and exclaim: 'Here comes our opportunity for food & clothing!'"

The *Book of Change*

The old method of divination was too complicated, too difficult to last long. It required a specially-trained priesthood for its interpretation. And the interpretations were often subjective & arbitrary.

A new and much simplified method gradually came into vogue. It consists of a number of divination "stems" or "sticks," the particular numerical combinations of which give the answers to the questions asked.

This method was simpler because each possible number or numerical combination can have a definite text worked out beforehand, and the diviner can consult the prepared text for the answer.

The text had to be written in ambiguous language so that, with a little interpretation, it may suit all kinds of inquirers and inquiries.

The *Book of Change* was one of these New Divination Texts. In the course of time, it came to be considered the best of all. It apparently superseded all other texts of rival schools.

The authenticity of the present text seems to be above question. Some sentences in the *Book of Change* were quoted by Confucius in the *Analects*.

Yang	*Yin*		Heaven
(Male)	(Female)		Earth
Active	Passive		Thunder
(Positive)	(Negative)		Mountain
Strong	Weak		Fire

刚 柔 Water

Flowing Water (Stream)

Wood—Wind

The Hexagrams

Strength in movement (Activity) Passivity

(Thunder) Motion

(Mountain) Rest (Stop)

(Water) Peril

(Water) (Fire) Success (Victory)

(Fire) (Water) Failure (Defeat)

(Earth) (Mountain) Humility

(Mountain) (Water) Infancy (Fountainhead)

豫 (Thunder) (Earth) Preparedness (Sudden emergency)

[随] (Stream) (Thunder) non-activity Resting (Silence)

复 (Earth) (Thunder) Holiday

噬嗑 (Fire) (Thunder) (Lightning) Friction (Chewing)

明夷 (Earth) (Fire) Darkness (Extinction of light)

晋 (Fire) (Earth) | Progress (Going forward)

咸 (Stream) (Mountain) | Love (Attraction)

损 (Mountain) (Stream) | (Erosion?) Decrease

益 [(Wind) Wood] (Thunder) | Increase (Growth)

夬 (Stream) (Heaven) | Decision (Downpour)

需 (Water) (Heaven) | (Cloudiness) Indecision

革（泽中有火） (Stream) (Fire) | Revolution (Conflict)

鼎 (Fire) (Wood) | (Cooking) (The Tripot)

履（上天，下泽） (The Sandal Foot-step) | the lowest part of the man—the Sandal

"Stepping upon the tail of the tiger, the man was not devoured by it. Good."

1. Going in plain sandals, — No fault.
2. The path for walking is smooth. Good for the retiring man.
3. The blind can see; the lame can walk. Stepping upon the tail of a tiger, the man is devoured. Bad omen. The military man becomes the great prince.
4. Stepping upon the tail of a tiger, — with great caution,— Ends well.
5. Walking with resolute steps, — Some risk.
6. Watching his steps carefully, — Very good on his return.

Its important points for the history of thought

1. The recognition of the significance of numbers as underlying all things and all change; at least it seems to imply that ideas and things and events (change) can be represented by number.
2. This numerical or quantitative representation can be reduced to the simplest

elements. In this case, ⚊ ⚋

3. The recognition of the existence of 2 opposite and yet complementary principles or forces in the universe: the strong and the weak; the male and the female; the *yang* and the *yin*.

4. While the *yang* & the *yin* are both necessary in all things, there seems to be a conscious recognition or exaltation of the virtues of weakness, meekness & humility,—of caution, retirement, resignation, yielding.

It was early pointed out that the *Book of Change* was probably worked out by "someone who was living in danger & worry."

It is possible that the work was produced by some member of the priestly class of the Shang people in the service of the Chou conquerors. It therefore expresses the philosophy of life of a people in subjection or even servitude.

It points to the weakness of sheer strength as well as to the great strength of meekness. It expresses a hope and a faith: the survival and ultimate triumph of the meek.

5. Here, in the recognition of the numerical ordering and of the *yin* & *yang*, we see a beginning of a naturalism—a determinism based on a vaguely conceived "law" or "order" in the universe, which can be observed and even symbolically represented by man.

Ch'ien **Earth**
Humility (Lowliness) ䷎ **Mt.**

It is the way of Heaven to decrease the full (盈) and augment the humble.

It is the way of Earth to overflow the full and replenish the humble. The ghosts & the gods injure the full and bless the humble. It is the way of men to hate the full and love the humble.

Humility is an honored and lustrous virtue. It is lowly, but nothing can take precedence over it.

Humility is the end-all of the gentleman.

"Humility succeeds. The gentleman ends well."

1. The gentleman of humility crosses the big River. Good.

2. A reputation of humility, with righteousness, will succeed.

3. Working hard in humility, the gentleman ends well. Good.

4. When everything is propitious, let humility continue to spread.

5. Not enriched at the expense of neighbors, he can use the armed forces and everything will be propitious.

6. Reputed for humility, he can use the armed forces against other countries.

The Rise of the States and the Ascendency of the Intelligentsia

The authority & power of the Chou Imperial Government were never supreme over the feudal states. Even in its early & most glorious period, the Imperial

Government almost always included the most powerful leaders of the states.

His political philosophers tried to make us believe that all the feudatory states began with very small territory. But it seems certain that at least some of the states started out with fairly large territory & large population, and with unlimited space & authority for expansion.

The result was that within a few centuries after the conquest, some of the states had already become so great and powerful that they were almost completely independent of the Imperial Dynasty, except perhaps in the matter of the ritualistic coronation or formal investiture by the King.

It is possible to say today that prior to 221 B.C., there was never a real unified Chinese Empire.

The period from 800 B.C. to 220 B.C.,—a period of 600 years,—can be correctly called the Era of Independent & Warring States. (Not correct to confine the term "Warring States" to 403-221 B.C. or 453-221 B.C.)

While the *Ju* remained conservative and looked back to the past, the new states & nations were achieving a new & vigorous civilization and were developing a new intellectual life.

The Western Chou Capital fell in 771 B.C. The Eastern Chou—"the Eastern Roman Empire"—made its capital near modern Loyang, and survived on the strength of the few great states of Chou origin.—

The new states were growing into great powers.

In the Shansi highland, the small state of T'ang (唐) became the great power of Chin (晋).

West of the Yellow River, a new state of semi-barbarian origin, the Ch'in state, occupied the old site of the Western Chou, and in the course of a few centuries developed into a strong state.

To the east, the old state of Ch'i (齐), bordering on the sea-coast, and enjoying probably the most developed economic life of all areas,—became the richest power with commensurate political & military strength.

To the south, for centuries, there had been developing a very large and powerful state of Ch'u (楚), the largest in territory, and the most fertile in soil. Long considered a southern barbarian nation, it emerged in the 8th & 7th centuries B.C. a great power conquering & absorbing all the small states north of the Yangtze River, and openly challenging the military power of the northern states.

These were the Four Powers—the "Big Four" of the 7th century B.C.

Duke Huan of Ch'i (齐桓) 685-643 B.C.

Duke Wen of Chin (晋文) 636-628 B.C.

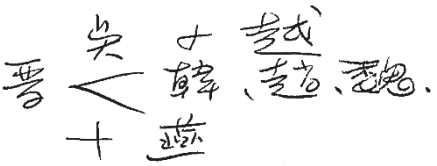
Duke Mu of Ch'in (秦穆) 659-621 B.C.

King Chuang of Ch'u (楚庄) 613-591 B.C.

By the 6th century B.C., there were only two great leading powers of the 1st rate: Chin in the north and Ch'u in the south. All the others became their allies and satellites.

There was a great Disarmament Conference of all nations in 546 B.C. (Confucius was 5 years old), and a kind of League or Grand Alliance for Peace was solemnly formed.

Peace was maintained for about a generation.



To the history of Chinese thought, this period of Independent States was most important in many aspects:

1. Absence of a uniform standard in thought & belief. This makes possible the variety of thought.

2. The demand for talented men and for bold schemes of political & economic reform. This encourages education, learning and thinking.

3. The freedom of movement from one country into another, esp. in the early periods, and the apparent existence of political asylum for persons persecuted in another country—these conditions were conducive to freedom & independence of thought & belief.

The Voice of the People as Preserved in the *Songs*

The *Book of Songs* is a rich store-house of Chinese songs of the 2nd & 1st millenniums B.C.

It was used as a text-book to learn the language. Every gentleman must know what to quote and what to recite on an appropriate occasion.

But this seemingly harmless song-book was in reality a book of "Dangerous Thoughts."

Many of the singers of the people and even of the classes cried out against the evils of the age, told boldly of the suffering, the grievance, and discontent of the people.

Of the "older" Classics, the *Book of Songs* set up the tradition of frank and outspoken expression of thought & belief.

It laid the foundation of a literature of social & political protest.

Soldiers' Complaint

"What leaves are not yellow!
What day do we not march!
What man is not toiling,—
Serving in some corner of the Kingdom!

"What leaves have not turned purple!
What man is not torn from his wife!
Mercy be on us soldiers:—
Are we not also men!"

Complaint of the Political Critic

"Lofty is the South Hill
With its massive rocks!
Awe-inspiring are you, O grand Minister of State!
And the people all look at you!
Our hearts are burning with fire,
And in earnest are we.
The Kingdom is verging to ruin:
Why are you still blind to this state of things?

"O you awe-inspiring Minister of State,
Why are you so unjust!
Heaven is multiplying its afflictions;
The people are grumbling;
And yet you do not correct yourselves!"

Another Political Criticism

"I look up to great Heaven,
But it shows no kindness.
…
There is no peace in the country,
And the people are in distress.

"Men had their land,
But you have it now.
They had their people,
But you have taken away from them.

"Here is an innocent man,
But you have put him in prison.
There is a guilty man,
But you have let him go free.

"When the people are going away,
The country is sure to go to ruin."

And the people are going away. Listen to this song to the Big Rats who were, of course, the oppressive officials & nobles.

"Big Rats, O Big Rats!
Do not eat up our millet,
Do not destroy our grain!
For three years we've tolerated you.
But you have shown no regard for us.
We will now leave you—
And go to that happy land—
Happy land! O happy land!—
Where we shall find our peace."

A Protest Against the Idle Rich

"Kan! Kan! So sings my axe on the *tan* tree.
Here on the River's bank I'll lay what I cut down.
Ah, how clear the waters flow and rippling!—
You sow not, nor reap:
Where do you get the grains that fill your three hundred granaries?
You do not follow the chase:
How do we see these badgers hanging up in your hall?—
Ah these gentlemen!
They do not eat the bread of idleness!"

Despair

"Ah! Had I known it would [be] thus with me,
I had better not have been born."

Religious & Intellectual Background of the Philosophers

1. The belief in a supreme God (personal & anthropomorphic)

2. But many minor gods were worshipped:

(1) The mountains & rivers, fire, sun & moon, heaven & earth—natural forces
(2) The tribal gods coming to be fused in a national pantheon
① Yellow Ti (Ancestor of 姬)
② White Ti (Ancestor of 秦)
③ Red Ti (Fire God) 炎帝
a. 炎帝 (姜)
b. 祝融 (楚)
④ Ta Hao (Great Luminary)
God of the 风姓 tribes.
⑤ Shao Hao (Minor Luminary)
God of the 己 (*chi*) tribes

3. Belief in ghosts and spirits:

(1) Something of the body survives death, that may be called the soul (*hun*)—the spirit
(2) It can present grievances to God & ask for justice or revenge.
(3) It can do things to men: punishment or reward.
(4) It can enjoy the offerings sacrificed to it.
(5) When no one offers sacrifices, it becomes "hungry."
(6) Some spirits seem to rise up & be with God.

4. But there was no clear conception of Heaven or Paradise for good men to go to.

Wen Wang rose up,
And was by the side of God.

The same idea occurred in a posthumous decree by the King (or Emperor) on the death of the Duke of Wei, in 535 B.C.

"叔父陟恪，在我先王之左右，以佐事上帝！"

5. No conception of Hell

The dead seem to go to an under-world beneath the earth—"the yellow springs" (黄泉). But there was certainly no idea of a Hell as a place of Last Judgment. [Stories like that of 申生 seem to indicate that the same God (*ti*) receives complaints and metes out measures of punishment.]

余得请于帝矣。
帝许我罚有罪矣。(《左 · 僖10》, 650 B.C.)

[The absence of concepts of Paradise and Hell is best evidence that there was no inter-communication between China & India and the West.]

6. There was some general conception of retribution of good & evil. But there was not the slightest trace of Indian conception of karma.

7. The prevalence of* (1) *a high class of priests, historians, prophets (祝, 史, 卜) who had charge of divination, sacrifices, interpretation of events, and calendar-making, and* (2) *a low class of wu (巫) (shaman) (witch) who practiced magic and ventriloquism (oracles) and who, in case of drought, might be exposed to the hot sun to plead for rain!

8. The prevalence of divination, both by 卜 and 筮 (shih), for all purposes:—

(1) War (to fight or not)
(2) Pursuit of enemy
(3) Question of a commander or a charioteer or an assistant charioteer
(4) Question of a successor to the throne
(5) Wife
(6) Name of newly born child
(7) Direction of travel or exile
(8) Cause of sickness
① The prevalent belief in all forms of occultism:

a Dreams and their interpretations
Even wise men like 叔孙豹 believed in dreams.
Even Confucius believed in dreams (梦见周公) (梦坐奠).
b Believing in "stone talking" (石能言) and other "omens" (Fire 火)

9. Medicine was apparently emerging from magic and superstition to a more respectable profession. Often a ruler of a state would request a neighboring state to send a famous medicine man. But even Confucius spoke of 巫 (witchcraft) & 医 (medicine) in the same terms of disrespect.

Even the wisest men of the age indulged in attributing sickness to the evil work of spirits and the gods.

10. Calendar-making seems to have made greater progress.

The co-existence of 3 different calendars:
Dec. 周$_{子}$ (1st month containing winter solstice)
Jan. 殷$_{丑}$ (In between)
Feb. 夏$_{寅}$ (1st month containing 1st day of spring)
By this time, it was known that
1 solar year = $365\frac{1}{4}$
(365.2422)

1 lunar month = 29.5306
12 lunar months = 354
13 lunar months = 384
故有十九年七闰法

$$365\frac{1}{4} \times 19 = 6939.6$$

$$\frac{6939}{29.53} = 235$$

$$12 \overline{)\,235}\quad 19年$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 12 \\ \hline 115 \\ 108 \\ \hline 7月 \end{array}$$

The progress of astronomy was so well-known & accepted that Mencius in the 4th century B.C. was able to say:

> "Heaven is high, and the stars are far away. Yet, if we seek their natural course (故), the solstices of a thousand years to come can be easily calculated."

11. The survival of human sacrifice in both forms

(1) *Hsün* (殉)
6 cases in the *Tso Chuan* (621, 594, 589, 581, 521, 508)
2 cases in the *T'an Kung*
(2) 用人祭
7 cases in the *Tso Chuan* (641, 627, 588, 537, 532, 531, 503)

It was an age of great statesmen & wise men.

The statesmen:
管仲 Kuan Chung of Ch'i (died 645 B.C.)
向戌 Hsiang Shu
赵武 Chao Wu (died 541 B.C.)
子产 Tzŭ Ch'an (Kung-Sun Ch'iao) (in power 542-512 B.C.)
羊舌肸 (叔向) Yang-shê Hsi (Shu Hsiang)
叔孙豹 Shu-sun Pao (died 538 B.C.)
Yen Ying (晏婴) (died 500 B.C.)

叔孙豹　三不朽
　　立德 (worth)
　　立功 (work)
　　立言 (words)

子产:

1. "Government is like the work of the farmer who daily thinks about what he has planted, planning at the beginning and expecting the results at the end, working at it day and night, but always according to the order of the plan. A government of this kind will rarely be in fault."

2. The people of Chêng gathered in the public places and indulged in criticizing the government. It was suggested that these public places be closed.

"Wherefore?" asked Tzŭ Ch'an.

"What these people approve, I shall put into practice. What they dislike, I shall change. The people's discussions are my teachers. Why stop them!

"Of course the government can stop criticism. But it is just like damming the flow of a river, which may cause greater damage when the dam breaks down. It is better to channel the flow of the river. And it is better for me to listen to popular criticism and remedy my policies."

3. "The ways of Heaven are far away; the ways of man are near at hand. We

cannot know the ways of Heaven. Pei Tsao (a prophet of his time) claims to know the ways of Heaven. But how can he? He talks so much that some of the things he predicted actually happened [by coincidence]. That's all."

(1) In 536 B.C., Tzŭ Ch'an published a penal code by having it cast on bronze. His friend and admirer, Yang-shê Hsi of Chin, wrote a letter to him strongly criticizing him for this act. Tzŭ Ch'an replied: "I cannot see so far ahead. I am doing this only as an expediency for the present age."

4. When he was dying, he said to his successor:

"Only leaders of very great virtue can govern the people by means of mercy and leniency (宽). The second best is government by strict and severe laws.

"Fire burns, therefore the people fear it, and few there are who die of fire.

"On the contrary, water looks soft and harmless. Therefore the people are accustomed to playing with water, with the result that more persons die of drowning than of burning.

"Therefore, it is more difficult to govern well with softness & mildness."

Lao Tzu

See my article[2] in H.J.A.S. (Vol. II, pp. 373-397) (Dec. 1937)

Waley puts the book at 240 B.C.

Mr. Fung Yu-lan is less definite. He puts the book as "a work of the Warring Nations Period" (which may be anywhere between 410-221 B.C.).

A mystic?

1. Concerned with direct communion of the soul with God
2. Seeking absorption into God or the infinite
3. Believing in the spiritual apprehension of truths intellectually incomprehensible

Lao Tzu (570?-500? B.C.)

1. A severe critic of his age—a radical reformer! but not a mystic.

㉕ The people starve because those above them eat too much tax-grain. That is the only reason why they starve. The people are difficult to keep in order because those above them want to do things (有为). That is the only reason why they are so difficult to keep in order.

The people seem to attach little importance to death (i.e. they are willing

2 Editor's Note: "A Criticism of Some Recent Methods Used in Dating Lao Tzu."

to risk life), because they really want very much to live. That is the only reason why they seem to care so little about death.

㉞ The people are not frightened of death. What then is the use of trying to intimidate them with the death-penalty?

㊼ The way of Heaven is to take away from those who have too much & give to those that have not enough.

But the way of man is to take away from those that have not enough, and give to those that already have too much.

㊼ The more prohibitions and taboos there are, the poorer the people will become. The more new tools there are, the more benighted the states will be. The more clever and inventive men become, the more strange contrivances (gadgets!) there will be. The more laws are promulgated, the more thieves & bandits there will be.

2. A Return to Nature and to the Way of Nature (Attack on Civilization)

Discard all civilization!
Rousseau and Tolstoi

⑫ 五色令人目盲。

② 天下皆知美之为美，斯恶矣。

③ 不尚贤……不贵难得之货……常使民无知无欲

㊽ 小国寡民 (my translation)

⑫ The five colors confuse (blind) the eye.
The five sounds dull the ear.
The five tastes spoil the palate.
Excess of hunting & chasing makes the mind go mad.
Products that are hard to get degrade men's conduct.
(Waley:—"Impede their owner's movements")
Therefore the Sage considers the belly, and not the eye.
Indeed, he rejects that, and chooses this.

② When everybody knows beauty to be beauty, then there is ugliness.
When everybody recognizes goodness to be goodness, then there is evil.

③ Don't exalt the talented, so that people may not quarrel among themselves.

Don't prize goods hard to get, so that the people may not steal.

Don't display things that excite desire, so that the people's mind may not be disturbed.

Therefore, when the wise man rules a state,
He empties the people's mind,
But fills their bellies;
He softens their will,

But toughens their bones and sinews:
Always striving to make the people knowledgeless and desireless.
Cf. the Story of Garden of Eden & the Fall of Man

⑲ Banish wisdom, discard knowledge,
And the people will be benefited a hundredfold.
Banish benevolence, discard righteousness,
And the people will be dutiful and kindly.
Banish skill, discard profit,
And thieves & robbers will disappear!

⑧⓪ Let there be a small country with few inhabitants. Let there be contrivances that will increase man's power by ten times or a hundred times, but no one will use them. Let the people attach importance to death and do not emigrate to distant lands. Let there be ships & carriages, but there will be nowhere to use them. Let there be armor & swords, but there will be no occasion to display them.

Let the people go back to the knotted ropes [instead of the writings]. Let them be pleased with their food & their clothes, contented with their houses, and satisfied with their local custom.

Let the neighboring "states" be so near to one another that their inhabitants could hear cocks crow & dogs bark in the next "states." But the people would grow old & die without visiting one another.

(Back to Nature & Extreme Isolation)

3. The Way (Tao):

All art, artifice, and all artificial civilization is contrary to the Way of Nature or Heaven.

㉕ (Waley, revised)

(This shows that Lao Tzu, on first discovering this great principle, had difficulty in terminology.)

㉕ There was something formless
That existed before heaven & earth
Silent and alone,
Dependent on nothing and never swerving,
All pervading and never failing.
One may think of it as the mother of all things under heaven.
I do not know its name.
I call it Tao (the way)
Perforce I may name it Great (*ta*).…

㉞ (Waley & Carus modified)
Great Tao is like a boat that drifts;
It can go this way; it can go that.
The ten thousand things depend upon it for life, and it refuses them not.
It claims no credit for what it accomplishes.

（功成不名有：
Waley: “Yet having produced them, it does not take possession of them.”
Carus: “When its merit is accomplished, it assumes not the name.”)
It nourishes & clothes the 10,000 things, but does not Lord (主) over them.
It desires nothing:
Therefore it may be called the Small (小) (the Lowly).
All things come home to it without its lording over them:
Therefore it may be called Great (大).

㉜ This Tao is nameless
“It does nothing, yet there is nothing that it does not accomplish.” (无为)
“The principle of Tao is that it ‘becomes so of itself.’” (自然) (*Tzŭ-jan*)
These, (No doing & Becoming-so-of-itself), are the attributes of Tao.

4. 无 (non-being=void=empty-space)

Here again we see the difficulty of the philosopher in trying to find words for the description of the Tao. The Void (Empty Space) came nearest to his conception of the Tao.

⑪ Use Waley—
We put 30 spokes together and call it a wheel;
But it is on the space where there is nothing that the utility of the wheel depends.
We turn clay to make a vessel;
But it is on the space where there is nothing that the utility of the vessel depends.
We pierce doors & windows to make a house;
But it is on these spaces where there is nothing that the utility of the house depends.
Therefore just as we take advantage of what is (有), we should recognize the utility of what is not (无).

㊵ All things in the world are born of Being.
And Being (有) is born of Non-being.

5. “Always strive to make the people knowledgeless & desireless!”

Hence the importance of the Nameless 无名 or Wordless 无言.

① The way that can be told is not the superior (常=尚) way.
The name that can be named is not the superior name.
The Nameless is the Origin of all things.
The Named is the Mother of all things.
(Cf. St. John: “In the beginning, there was the word.”)

㉜ The Way is always nameless & formless.… Then Names came to be made. After the invention of names (words), people began to know. When the

people began to know, there was the beginning of disorder (不治).

It is Lao Tzu's attack on civilization and knowledge which gives the reader the impression of "mysticism."

There is undoubtedly an anti-intellectualism in Lao Tzu,—as in all thinkers who revolt against an over-sophisticated & over-refined civilization.

More an attack on 学 as compared with 思.

㊼ Without going out of the door,
One can know the world.
Without looking out of the window,
One can know the ways of Heaven.
The further one travels,
The less one knows.

"思" vs. "学"!

㊽ (Waley) p. 201
Learning consists in adding to one's stock day by day.
The practice of Tao consists in subtracting day by day,
Subtracting & again subtracting,
Till one reaches non-activity (无为).
By this non-activity,
Everything can be achieved. (That is, "of itself.")

6. Moral & Political Applications

(1) *Wu-wei*—Non-interference, non-activity. Laissez-faire!
Imitate nature. Nature does nothing, yet everything is done [of itself].

"The people are difficult to rule, because those above them try to do too much."

㊼ (Waley)
"So long as I do nothing, the people will of themselves be transformed.
"So long as I love quietude, the people will of themselves go straight.
"So long as I act only by inactivity (无事), the people will of themselves become prosperous."

17 (Waley)
Of the highest the people merely know that such a one exists; (下知有之)
(Carus: "The subjects do not notice their existence.") (下不知有之)
The next, they draw near to and praise.
The next, they shrink from, intimidated.
[The next, they despise.]

㊼ Use Waley (p. 211)
我无为而民自化。
我无事而民自富。

⑰ 太上，下〔不〕知有之。
其次，亲之，誉之。其次畏之。

(B) Non-resistance (不争)

⑬ Requite injury by kindness. 报怨以德

⑧ The greatest good is like water. Water benefits all things but resists none. It always occupies the [lowest] places that all men dislike. Therefore, water comes nearest to the Tao.

⑱ Nothing under heaven is softer or more yielding than water. Yet there is nothing more effective than water in attacking things that are hard and resistant. No, nothing can take its place.

That the yielding conquers the resistant and the soft conquers the hard is a fact known to all men, but practised by none.

Therefore, the Wise Man says:

He who bears the dirt of the country can be the lord of the state. He who takes upon himself the evils of the country can be the king of all men.

㊸ The most yielding of all things can overwhelm (overcome, 驰骋) the hardest of all things. (E.g. Water can overcome the hardest rock.)

That which has no thickness can cut into that which has no cleavage.

㉞ There is always the Great Executioner who executes. To do it in his stead is like trying to do chipping for the master-carpenter. And he who tries to do chipping for the master-carpenter, rarely avoids cutting his own hand!

㉓ It is the Way of Heaven not to strive, but none the less to conquer;
Not to speak, but none the less to respond;
Not to beckon, but things come of themselves.…
The Net of Heaven is wide;
Its meshes are coarse, yet nothing slips through.

Compare Lao Tzu's exaltation of water with Tzŭ Ch'an (子产, in power 542-512 B.C.) who said on his death-bed:

"Fire burns, therefore the people fear it; and few die of fire.

"Water looks soft & harmless. Therefore the people are accustomed to playing with water. The result is that more persons die of drowning than of burning."

Humility

㊻ How did the great rivers & seas get their kingship over the hundreds of lesser waters?

It was because the great rivers & seas had the virtue of being lower than them.

……

Because he does not strive, none can contend with him.

This doctrine of non-resistance was part of the moral philosophy of Humility that seemed to have come from the period of political & racial conflict.

It expresses a faith, indeed a very great faith in the ultimate justice of the operation of the Divine Order or the Way.

Cf.

㉝ The Net of Heaven is wide: its meshes are coarse, yet nothing slips through.

&

㉞ The Great Executioner.

The same faith in God is implied in Jesus' doctrine of non-resistance: Lilies in the field; the sparrows.[3]

(Faith)

㉛ The Wise Man does not hoard.
When his last scrap has been used up on behalf of others,
Lo, he has more than before!
When his last scrap has been used up in giving to others,
Lo, his stock is even greater than before!

Confucius

He came from royal descent, his family having come from the Shang State of Sung.

His father was known as a brave soldier with unusual physical prowess.

Born apparently out of wedlock, and brought up in poverty, Confucius said of himself: "In my youth, my condition was lowly; therefore I learned to do a great many things of the common sort."

His many-sided attainments were early recognized by his fellow-men. When Confucius was in his thirties (about 518 B.C.), a great minister of his own state, on his death-bed, ordered that his two sons should go to the young teacher and study under him.

Confucius (551-479 B.C.)

518 B.C. (at 34 [33]) Went to the Chou Capital and studied *li* with Lao Tzu.

"I assisted Lao Tzu in officiating at a funeral. When the procession was on the way, there was an eclipse of the sun. Lao Tan said to me: 'Ch'iu, stop the hearse,

3 Editor's Note: See Matthew 6: 26-28.

and let it rest by the right side of the road. Stop the mourners and wait for the recovery of the sunlight.'" (Book VII. of *Li Chi*)

From 500-496 B.C. (51st yr.-55th) He played some prominent part in the government of his own state (Lu).

From 496 B.C. on, he was in voluntary exile, visiting a number of states.

Returned to Lu in 488 B.C., when he was 67.

More students came to him. It was said that he had 3000 pupils, of whom 72 were esp. noted.

Contrasts Between Confucius & Lao Tzu

1. Attitude towards civilization

老 detested the civ. of his age.
孔 glorified in it.

2. Attitude toward the past

老 Non-historical—revolutionary (有生于无)
孔 Historical—evolutionary
"A transmitter and not a creator, I believe in & love the past."

3. Attitude toward language (words):

老 无名——无名之朴
孔 正名——文质彬彬 { (Nature & Art) / (Matter & Form) }

4. Attitude toward knowledge & learning

老 wishes to discard all knowledge.
孔 most emphatic on the importance of education & learning

5. Attitude toward morality

老 teaches an extreme, superhuman faith in the Way of Heaven (nature) such as non-resistance.

孔 teaches a common sense morality.
中庸—忠恕 (reciprocity) (golden rule)

6. Attitude toward society—

老 tends toward quietude & contemplation.
孔 teaches active social relationship. 修己以安人。

7. Attitude toward political life

老 (*wu-wei*)
孔 (*yu-wei*)
知其不可而为之。
"He who knows it is impossible, yet cannot forbear to go on."

8. Determinism and Human Effort

The old concept of the Decree (*Ming*) of Heaven seems to have received a naturalistic reinforcement by the time of Lao Tzu & Confucius.

Confucius was not quite clear on this point. But there was no doubt that he accepted the belief in the *Ming* (命) which, however, was not often discussed by him.

XIV. 38 公伯寮愬子路于季孙 ……
"If the [right]Way is to prevail, it is so ordered (命也). If it is not to prevail, it is so ordered. Can Kung-po Liao do with regard to what is ordered?"

XIV. 37
"I do not murmur against Heaven, nor do I grumble against men. Learning from the lowly, I aspire to achieve the heights. Only Heaven knows me!"

As Mencius later put it, "that which is done without man's doing it, is by Heaven (天) [or Nature]. That which happens without man's causing it to happen is *Ming* (命) (determined)."

This conception of *Ming* makes him free from the superstitions of the time.

"I have prayed all the time," said he to a disciple who, attending the Master at his sick-bed, had suggested prayer for his recovery.

XII. 4
"The gentleman worries not, nor fears."
"…When he searches inward, and finds nothing to be ashamed of, why should he worry? And what should he fear?"

XX. 3
"Without recognizing the ordinances of Heaven, it is impossible to be a gentleman."

"Is he not the man who knows it is in vain and yet cannot forbear to go on?" Such was the apt description of Confucius by one of his contemporaries.

Confucius

1. A Great Teacher and Educator.

VII. 2
"I have noted in silence what I have observed. I have never tired of learning, nor wearied of teaching others."

Because he was always a learner, he was a great teacher.

VII. 7
"From the very poorest upwards,—beginning even with the man who could bring no better present than a bundle of dried meat—none has come to me without receiving my instruction." (Waley)

An educational psychology:

XVII. 2-3
"By nature, men are nearly alike; by practice, they get to be wide apart.
"Only the very wisest & the very stupidest cannot be changed."

And an educational philosophy:

XV. 38
"With education, [there will be] no classes." 有教无类

Waley: "There is a difference in instruction but none in kind." (p. 201)
Legge: "In teaching there should be no distinction of classes."
My tr.: "With education, there will be no classes."

2. Humanist & Humanism.

Confucius was by profession a kind of "priest" (Master of Ritual) whose duty it was to officiate or assist in religious & funeral & burial sacrifices. But being a Master of Ritual, he understood "the Root of all ritual" is Man, who forms his main object of study & teaching.

XI. 12
A disciple asked how one should serve ghosts & gods. He said: "We have not learnt to serve men, how can we serve ghosts?"
The disciple then asked about death. The Master said: "We do not know life, how can we know death?"

VI. 22
A disciple asked about wisdom, Confucius said: "Devote one's self to the duties due to men (务民之义), and, while respecting the ghosts and spirits, keep aloof from them (敬鬼神而远之): That may be termed wisdom."

Lao Tzu's "Tao" seems to be remote from Man.

It existed before Heaven & Earth.

But Confucius always comes down to earth & man. His Tao is the way of man:

"道不远人。人之为道而远人，不可以为道。"(《中庸》)

"The Way is not far from man. He who seeks the Way apart from man, cannot be said to be seeking the Way." (Quoted by his grandson.)

His School was conscious of the existence of an older and more negative School of *Ju*.

VIII. 5.

The disciple Tseng said: "Gifted with ability, yet always seeking knowledge from those who were not so gifted; possessed of much [knowledge], yet always seeking knowledge from those possessing little; having, yet seeming not to have; full, yet seeming empty; offended against, yet never contesting (校, contending):—formerly, our friends have devoted themselves to this."

His best disciples were grouped under 4 groups:
(1) For character (德行)
(2) For the art of speech (言语)
(3) For governmental affairs (政事)
(4) For literary studies (文学)

The Way (Tao) to Confucius only meant the right way of conduct both as an individual and as a member of society. A later Confucian expressed it, "The Tao is the way of man, the way of a public official, and the way of a ruler." 人道也，臣道也，君道也。

仁 *Jen*
(True humanity) or (Human perfection)
and
The Social Objective,—the Social Approach.

3. It is most significant that Confucius terms his highest ideal in moral life by the word Jen (仁).

Jen { Legge = Perfect Virtue
Waley = Goodness (with Cap. G.)
My tr. = True humanity or Human perfection

(1) *Jen* = "Love of men"
(2) *Jen* = "Humility in private life,
Reverence in conduct of affairs,
Loyalty in dealing with men."
居处恭，执事敬，与人忠。 (XIII. 19)

(3) *Jen* = "When you go out of your house, act as if you were in the presence

of a great guest. When you employ men, act as if you were officiating at a great sacrifice." (Reverence)

"Do not do to others what you would not wish yourself." (Reciprocity) (XII. 2)

(4) *Jen* = "To subdue yourself to conform to propriety: Look not at what is contrary to propriety; listen not to what is contrary to propriety; speak not what is contrary to propriety; and do nothing that is contrary to propriety." (XII. 1)

(5) *Jen* = He of perfect humanity, wishing to establish himself, seeks also to establish others; wishing to enlighten himself, seeks also to enlighten others. (VI. 28)

XV. 8.
The Master said:
"The knight with a determined will and the man of true humanity will never seek to live at the expense of injuring their true humanity. Sometimes it may be necessary that they give up their lives, in order to achieve true humanity." 无求生以害仁，有杀身以成仁。

What a difference from the old negative virtues of Humility!

VIII. 7.
His disciple Tseng said:
"The *shih* (scholar) ["Knight of the Way" (Waley)] must perforce be big-hearted & perseverant; his burden is heavy and his journey is long. For perfect humanity is the burden he has taken upon himself: is that not a heavy burden to bear? And only death ends his journey: is that not a long way to go?"

4. The Social Approach

Tzŭ Lu asked about the way of the gentleman. The Master said: "Cultivate yourself with reverence. Cultivate yourself in order you may be able to ease the lot of the people. Cultivate yourself in order that you may be able to ease the lot of all men." (Waley) (modified)
修己以敬，修己以安人，修己以安百姓。 (XIV. 45)

The discussions in the school were often on practical questions of human conduct, family relations, social duties, and government. Much attention was paid to politics & government.
As Tzŭ-hsia, his disciple, has expressed it:

"When a public official has energy and time to spare, he should devote it to study; when a scholar has energy & time to spare, he should devote it to duties of the state."

This sense of social and public responsibility of the educated man—this social objective of individual cultivation—is best expressed in the famous formula of the *Book of Great Learning*:

① Extension of knowledge
② Purification of motives (will)
③ Rectification of the heart (feelings)
④ Cultivation of the person
⑤ Regulating of the family
⑥ Ordering of the State
⑦ Giving peace to the world

5. ***The Intellectualistic Attitude***

II. 17

"Yu, shall I teach you what knowledge is? When you know a thing, to recognize that you know it, and when you do not know a thing, to recognize that you do no know it: that is knowledge."

老 wished to abolish all knowledge & learning.
孔 was most emphatic on stressing the importance of education & learning.

不出户，知天下。（老）
（孔）学而不思则罔，思而不学则殆。

"I have often spent a whole day without food & a whole night without sleep, in order to think. But I have found it not profitable. It is better to learn."

"Learning without thinking is labor lost; thinking without learning is perilous."

This Intellectualistic Approach was later expressed by his School in various ways:

子夏(Tzŭ-hsia): "He who from day to day is conscious of what he still lacks, and from month to month never forgets what he has already learnt, may indeed be called a true lover of learning." (XIX. 5)

子夏: Just as the various craftsmen must go to their workshops to perfect their arts, so the gentleman must devote himself to studies in order to perfect himself in the Way (or truth).

Still later, in the *Book of the Mean*, it is expressed thus:
Study extensively,
Inquire accurately,
Reflect (Think) carefully,
Debate (辨) clearly,
Practise earnestly.

6. The Historical Approach

"A transmitter, but not a maker."

"I love the past and earnestly search for it."

"Shang (Yin) inherited from the institutions of Hsia: its abolitions & contributions can be known. Chou inherited from the institutions of Shang (Yin):

its abolitions and contributions can be known."

孔 praised the culture of his age and was proud of its achievement.

"The Chou Period had the advantage of modeling after the two preceding periods. How elegant & glorious are its arts! I follow Chou."

His search for the past is for the understanding of the present.

"He who by re-animating (lit. by warming up) the Old can gain knowledge of the New, is fit to be a teacher."

Hence his great devotion to the use of the ancient scriptures as the material & means of education.

As a "transmitter," and as one who has inherited from the Shang-Chou civilization, he (and esp. his School) has preserved much of the pre-Confucian heritage, partly through textual preservation & study of the scriptures, and partly through professional practice (hence unconscious conservation) of the rituals & ceremonies of the feudal age.

Among the things thus transmitted to posterity, mention must be made of the ancient (Shang) observance of 3-year (27-month) mourning after the death of a parent.

7. Rectification of Names (words)

XIII. 2

Tzŭ-lu said: "If the prince of Wei were expecting you to come & administer his state for him, what would be your first measure?"

The Master said, "It would certainly be the rectification of names." (Waley: "to correct language")

Tzŭ-lu said: "Can I have heard you right? Surely what you propose to do is wide of the mark. Why should names (words) be corrected?"

The Master said: "Yu, how rude you are! A gentleman, in regard to what he does not know, should maintain an attitude of reserve.

"If names (words) are not correct, speech will not follow its natural sequence. If speech does not follow its natural sequence, human affairs become impossible.… [The consequences will be that] penalties and punishments will go astray, … [and] then the people will have nowhere to put hand and foot.

"Therefore, the gentleman requires that names (words) must be capable of being spoken and that what is spoken must be capable of being put into practice. The gentleman is never careless in what he speaks."

This doctrine of correction of language (names) has a wide range of application:

(1) Linguistic: It opens up the etymological or philological approach to the study of language.

"To govern is to correct."
政者正也。
仁者人也。

(2) Educational & literary: It stresses the importance of correct and exact use of language.

"What is required of a sentence is to get across its meaning. That's all."

(3) Moral implications:

"Let the prince be prince;
Let the minister be minister;
Let the father be father;
Let the son be son."

His prince commented:

"Good! If indeed the prince be not prince, the minister not minister, the father not father, and the son not son, then though I have my reverence, how can I enjoy it?" (XII. 11)

His peculiar application to historiography:
Read pp. 50-51 of *Logical Method*[4]:

① "Shang-ch'en, Heir-apparent of Ch'u, murdered (弑) his Prince Ch'ün."
② "The people of Sung murdered their prince Ch'u-ch'iu."
③ "The State of Chin murdered its prince Chou-pu."

This practice of strict & exact recording had long been a tradition of the Priestly Recorder of History.

The case of "Tsui Ch'u (崔杼) murdering his Prince Kuang (光)" in 548 B.C.

太史书曰"崔杼弑其君"，崔子杀之。其弟嗣书而死者二人，其弟又书，乃舍之。南史氏闻太史尽死，执简以往。

Mo Ti (c. 500-420 B.C.) or (c. 490-410 B.C.)

Read my *Logical Method* pp. 55-58, pp. 63-71.
Read Fung[5]—Chap. 5

Ch. 48
4 charges against the "*Ju*"
"There are 4 policies of the *Ju* which are bad enough to imperil the world."
① They maintain that God (Heaven) is not knowing and the spirits are not powerful. (以天为不明，以鬼为不神。)
② They advocate expensive burial and prolonged mourning—
③ They encourage music & singing and dance.
④ They believe in Fate or Determinism—that poverty & wealth, long life and

4 Editor's Note: Hu Shih, *The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China*.

5 Editor's Note: Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*.

premature death, peace & war, order and disorder are all matters pre-determined, and not subject to change.

In the 48th Chapt., a Confucianist by name of 公孟子 frankly said:

> "There is only right or wrong, but there is no such a thing as being propitious or not propitious." 有义不义，无祥不祥。

公孟 (ibid) said that "there are no gods, nor spirits." (无鬼神) But he also said that a gentleman must be versed in the rites of worship & sacrifice.

Said Mo Ti: "To deny the gods & spirits and at the same time practice worship & sacrifice, is just as meaningless as to practice the ceremonies of reception of guests when there are no guests,—it is as nonsensical as to make fishing nets & traps when you know that no fish can be had.

The Religion of Mo

1. The Will of God (天志)
2. Love of All
3. Opposition to War
4. Existence of Spirits (ghosts)
5. Opposition to *Ming* (非命) or Determinism (Free Will)
6. Simple Burial and Short Mourning (节葬短丧)
7. Opposition to Music & the Fine Arts
8. Recognition of Talent & Knowledge in Public Service
9. 尚同 (Totalitarian Unity) = Upward Conformity
   "上同而不下比"

"Conforming to what is above, but not accommodating to what is below."—the ideal—unifying all right & wrong with the highest authority or unity—A unitary empire under one supreme God.

The Mo doctrine of 尚同 "upward conformity" contains a political theory about the origin of society & the state, a theory rather like that of Hobbes.

The Pragmatic or Utilitarian Method

Right = the profitable
Good = the useful
"There is no good which is not useful."

Mo Tzu asked a Confucianist: "Wherefore do you promote music?" "Music is for the sake of music."

Mo Tzu said: "You have not answered my question. Suppose I ask you wherefore you build a house. If you say that a house for protection against cold weather in winter & against heat in summer, and also for providing privacy between men & women, — then you will be telling me the purpose for which a house is built. Now I ask you wherefore you advocate music, and you say that music is for the sake

of music. That is equivalent to saying that a house is for the sake of a house."

The first criterion in knowing a thing is therefore to know for what purpose it can be used. That is the meaning of the definition that "the good is the useful."

A further meaning of the pragmatic criterion is that "the useful" or "the good" must have bearing on human conduct or behavior.

True knowledge must be tested in its effect or influence on human conduct. Practical choice and conduct are the tests of knowledge.

> "Any saying that can elevate conduct should be promoted. Any saying that cannot elevate conduct should not be promoted. To promote any saying that cannot elevate conduct is but waste of words."

Mo Tzu said:

> "Now a blind man can easily repeat an accurate definition of what is white & what is black. Even those who can see, may not refute him in such definitions.
>
> "But place a black object and a white object before the blind man and ask him to choose the white from the black. Then he fails completely.
>
> "Therefore I say the blind man does not know black & white, not because he cannot name them or define them, but because he cannot choose the one from the other.
>
> "Now the gentlemen of the world can give such an excellent definition of good & right that even the wisest sages cannot surpass them.
>
> "But try to place before them a right & a wrong, a good and an evil, and ask them to choose the good from the evil, the right from the wrong. Then they fail completely.
>
> "Therefore I say that the gentlemen of the world do not know right & wrong, good and evil, not because they cannot define them well, but because they cannot choose the one from the other."

非攻上 is also an illustration.

The Logic of Three Norms

(Reasoning by 3 Tests) "三表"
pp. 72
① The Test of Actual Experience of the people: the experience of the sense organs of the ordinary man

> "What is actually seen or heard by the people, exists."
> "What is not seen or heard by the people, does not exist."

② The Test of the Experience of the wisest men of the Past

> "Look in the written records of the ancient sages, and see what they had to say."

③ The Test of Practical Application

"Try to put it into government policy and see whether it is conducive to the welfare of the people."

"These I call the Three Tests in Reasoning." 言有三表

Negative Tests: 非命上
Positive Tests: 明鬼下

The whole procedure is pragmatic & utilitarian.

The 1st Test emphasizes actual experience, empirical knowledge, which is an improvement over, and a protest against, the method of ignoring experience.

Even the 2nd test really means a reliance upon expert experience of the past.

The 3rd test is most important: it best illustrates the utilitarian approach—though often short-sighted.

Intellectual Developments in the 4th and 3rd Centuries B.C.

1. Political & Social Changes: the Conquest of the Small States by the 7 Great Powers

War & peace, internal administration and external international relations, national survival and expansion,—all these demanded men of knowledge and ability, and tended to encourage intellectual developments. Class distinctions were fast disappearing. Commoners were rising to positions of power & influence.

An intellectual class, vaguely termed *shih* (士), was coming into being—and was developing a consciousness of its own responsibility and dignity.

Contrast between Confucius' time & Mencius' time:

㉔ "There are three things of which a gentleman stands in awe. He stands in awe of the ordinances (mandate) of Heaven, of great men, and of the words of the ancient sages."

"When he enters the Palace Gate, he seems to shrink into himself, as though there were not enough room.

"When he stands, it must not be in the middle of the gate. When he passes in or out, he does not tread on the threshold.

"When he comes to the presence of the Prince, his countenance seems to change, his legs seem to give way under him, and his words seem to fail him.

"When he ascends the Audience Hall, holding up the hem of his skirt, he seems to double up, and keeps in his breath as though he were not breathing at all.…"

In a little over a hundred years, all this had changed.

Mencius said:

"When you talk with the great men, you should regard them as though they were of no account.

…

"What they have are what I would have nothing to do with. And what I have are the rules of the ancients. Why should I stand in awe of them?"

2. The Rise of Private Schools of Teaching

The two great schools were those of the Confucians and the Moists.

After the death of their founders, these split into many schools.

It was said that there were 8 different schools of Confucianism and 3 different schools of Moism.

We have, however, little authentic material to describe these schools in detail.

Those were schools where eager students received their education & training for participation in public life.

3. Scientific Knowledge of the Age as Evidenced in the Books of the Mo School. (Esp. Bks. 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45—[Bks. 32-37, if the missing Bks are not counted])

Probably due to the Moists being in close contact with the common people?

Examples

(1) Mathematics & Geometry—Definitions such as "A circle is that which has equidistant radii from its center." (圆，一中同长也。)

Of "parallel," "square," "point," etc.

(2) Mechanics

"A weight, if not pulled from above, nor from below, nor from the sides, will always fall straight down: there is something that causes this."凡重，上弗挈，下弗收，旁弗劾，则下直；抱，或害之也。

"Force is that with which a body is moved (or lifted up)."

"Force is the same as weight." 力，重之谓。

"Movement is shifting of space occupied." 动，或徙也。

"Movement is continuous replacement of space occupied."

"Rest (stop) is due to duration." 止，以久也。

(3) Study or Experiments with Light

There are clear evidences of the use of light in various experiments such as placing an object (such as a human body) between 2 lights or in front of a mirror, or using a pole in various positions.

"Standing before a mirror, an object gives an inverted image, smaller in size than the original: The reason is given under concavity.

"The size of the shadow [of a pole] is explained by the distance and the slanting or erect position [of the pole]."

(4) Economic Theories—Price & Value

"In buying, there is no price that is too high." (买无贵)

"The proper price is the one at which a thing can be bought." (贾宜则售)

"When all the reasons for not selling [a thing] are removed, then a thing can be sold. Such a price as to remove all reasons for not selling is the proper price."

4. Alchemy

(1) The theory of the "Five Elements" or "Five Ways of Behavior" (行)

It probably came from the earlier concept of "six groups" (六府): Water, Fire, Metal, Wood, Earth & Grain. Grain (谷) came to be eliminated:

① Water
② Fire
③ Metal
④ Wood
⑤ Earth

The concept of mutual conquering among the elements: 五行相胜

Two Views:

① 五行相胜

Water
↓
Fire
↓
Metal
↓
Wood
↓
Earth
↓
Water

② 五行无常胜 (墨)

Chinese Alchemy & Medicine seems to have been greatly influenced by the old concept of *yin* & *yang* as 2 forces & the newer concept of the Five Elements.

These concepts enabled Chinese thinkers to reorganize empirical knowledge and give it a speculative character.

(东) 木——春——角——八——酸——脾
(南) 火——夏——徵——七——苦——肺
(中) 土——( )——宫——五——甘——心
(西) 金——秋——商——九——辛——肝
(北) 水——冬——羽——六——咸——肾

Anatomy and Medicine

Ancient medicine seems to have made much progress in those centuries (500-200 B.C.).

The Founder of medicine was Pien Ch'iao (扁鹊) who, according to tradition, was a contemporary of Confucius.

Szu-ma Ch'ien said: "To this day (2nd century B.C.), all students of the problem of pulsation (脉) go back to Pien Ch'iao."

There is a work known as *Eighty-one Questionings* (《八十一难经》) which has been attributed to him.

It was probable that Pien Ch'iao was the first man to apply early anatomical & physiological knowledge to the art of healing by discovering the use of pulse-feeling as an important criterion or test in diagnosis.

His method of pulse-feeling has become the standard method for later ages.

He seems to have also made use of all earlier methods of healing:

1. Heating and cauterization (灸)
2. Needling (针)
3. Use of Drugs (药)

The thought-currents of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. may be treated, not under individual thinkers, but under the several main movements or tendencies, such as:

① The development of Individualism
② The development of Universalism
③ The development of Naturalism

Developments in Logical Theories

1. The Nominalistic Theories:

(1) Lao Tzu's 无名
(2) Chuang Tzu's logical nihilism
(3) The extreme nominalism (名伪论)

2. The Scientific Conceptions of Logic—

The Mo School—
"The universal" as a logical tool for the control or comprehension of the particulars
"以名举实。" 名= 所以谓也。(predicate/predicables)
实= 所谓也。(subject)

3. Logical Realism

(1) 孔子 正名论
(2) 荀子 新正名论

He who reasons…defines the substance by the predicates, expresses his meaning in a proposition (judgment), and gives the reason (because) in a premise.

He selects instances on the principle of similarity (以类取), and makes affirmations on the principle of similarity (以类予).

Logical Theories of Moism

Knowledge is of 3 kinds:
1. 闻 (Hearing or Learning)
2. 说 (Inference)
3. 亲 (Experience) p. 89

Logical theory is theory of inferential knowledge. All reasoning is based on similarity and difference (同异).

Cause and Because (故)

p. 94

A cause is that with the obtaining of which something becomes.

A minor cause is one with which something may not necessarily be so, but without which it will never be so.

A major cause is one with which something will of necessity be so, and without which it will never be so.

Here a major cause (大故) is the complete cause, the "sum-total of all conditions."

5 Methods of Reasoning

1. Deduction (效)

2. Comparison (辟)

3. Parallel (侔)

4. Analogy (援)

5. Induction (推)

"Deduction (效) [or reasoning from a mold] consists of setting up a form (法). That which is modeled after is that which to be set up as the form. When the cause or because conforms to the form or mold, it is true. When it does not, it is wrong.

"Induction [or reasoning by extension] consists in making a general affirmation on the ground that the unexamined instances are similar to those already examined. When it is said, 'All the others are the same,' how can I say, 'The others are not the same'?"

Compare Mill:

"Induction consists in inferring from some individual instances in which a phenomenon is observed to occur, that it occurs in all instances of a certain class: namely, in all which resemble the former, in what are regarded as the material circumstances."

The "Sophists"?
① 白马，马也 (墨家)
A white horse is a horse.
② 白马，非马也 (辩者)
A white horse is not a horse.
From this position, it is only a step to the extreme type of nominalism which denies reality to all universals and which recognizes only the particulars as real.

Extreme nominalism is best expressed in a spurious work known as *Lieh Tzu*; in its 7th Bk., entitled *The Book of Yang Chu*:

"The real have no name. Names are not realities. Names are man-made."

The Logic of Nihilism

"Arguments arise only because there is something which is not seen."
辩也者，有不见也。

These Thinkers, such as 庄子, take a long-range view of truth & falsehood and declare ① that truth is relative, ② that truth & falsehood are forever changing, and ③ that therefore it is impossible to know the truth in any absolute sense.

① 物无非彼，物无非是。
彼出于是，是亦因彼。
是亦彼也，彼亦是也。
彼亦一是非，此亦一是非。
(尧桀自然而相非。)
② 是亦一无穷，非亦一无穷。
③ 庸讵知吾所谓知之非不知邪？”
吾生也有涯，而知也无涯。以有涯随无涯，殆已！

The Psychological & Social Approach (荀子)

1. What was the origin of names? For what purposes?

Names arose because of the necessity for distinguishing the similar & the dissimilar.
别同异。

2. Whence come the similarity & dissimilarity?

They all had a psychological basis. They come from the experience of the sense organs.
The mind “registers” and “classifies” (当簿其类) these sensations.

3. The principles by which names are made

> “All substances of the same kind should have the same names. All things of different kinds must have different names.
> “Names have no intrinsic correctness. They are determined by convention. When convention is established and custom has been formed, it is called a correct name.” 约定俗成谓之宜。

This type of Logical Theory easily leads to “legislative” conception of universals. Names were conceived as “having been first established by the sage-rulers” and were to be “rectified” in later ages also by latter-day sages.

Development of Individualism

The Confucian doctrine of *jen* (仁) had an individualistic implication in its

emphasis on self-cultivation, on the fullest realization of human capabilities.

While Confucius always stressed the importance of social responsibilities,—such as his teaching of "Cultivate yourself in order to be able to ease the lot of the people,"—it was apparent that his teachings could easily acquire an individualistic interpretation.

E.g.

"With coarse food to eat, with only water to drink, and with a bent arm for a pillow, I find there is enough happiness in such a life. Riches and honors acquired by unrighteous means are as remote from me as the floating clouds."

Confucius said again of himself:

"This is the character of the man: so intent in his pursuits as to forget his food, so happy as to ignore his troubles, unmindful of the approach of old age."

And he praised his disciple Yen Hui in these words:

"Incomparable indeed was Hui! A handful of rice to eat, a gourdful of water to drink, living in a mean street,—others would have found it unendurably depressing, but he never allowed such circumstances to have any effect on his cheerfulness. Incomparable indeed was Hui!"

All this could be made the basis of a wholesome individualism.

As you will recall, Confucius also taught that

"The knight with a determined will and the man of true humanity (志士仁人), will never seek to live at the expense of injuring their true humanity. It may be sometimes necessary that they give their lives in order to achieve their humanity."

This is the positive and even aggressive side of the doctrine of "*jen*," which can easily be made a foundation of a Confucianist philosophy of individualism.

This individualism may be defined as an emphatic recognition of the supreme importance of the development of the individual as the only sound foundation of the good society and good life. The worth of the individual constitutes his own contentment and happiness which therefore are not dependent upon such external conditions as wealth & honors.

The supreme good is the full realization of one's own humanity for the sake of which one may even sacrifice one's own life.

The Confucian School in the 5th & 4th centuries B.C. developed a moral philosophy based on filial piety (孝).

Tseng Tzŭ laid down the three grades of filial duty:

1. The highest is to glorify one's parents through fullest realization of one's own capabilities. (尊亲)

2. The next is "never to degrade one's body" which is a sacred inheritance from one's parents.

3. The least is to be able to give support to one's parents.

This positive phase of filial duty has often been ignored or misunderstood, esp. by foreign critics.

Tseng Tzŭ said:

"The body is an inheritance from father & mother. How dares one behave irreverently with this sacred inheritance!

"Therefore, ① frivolous living is a violation of filial duty. ② Disloyalty to one's ruler is a violation of filial duty. ③ Carelessness in public life is a violation of filial duty. ④ Faithlessness to one's friends is a violation of filial duty. ⑤ Cowardice on the battlefield is a violation of filial duty.

"Failure in any one of these five spheres of life will bring disaster (degradation) to one's parents. How dares one behave without reverence!"

See also Tseng Tzŭ's death-bed scene in *Analects* VIII, 3. and *T'an Kung* (*Li-Chi II*)

When Tseng Tzŭ was seriously ill, he summoned his disciples and said to them:

"Uncover my feet. Uncover my hands. It is said in the *Book of Songs*:

'In fear and trembling,
With caution & care,
As though on the brink of a chasm,
As though treading thin ice.'

"Now I know that I have got through safely, my little children!"

The important point to be noted is the great emphasis on the self (the body) as a supreme inheritance which one should regard as something sacred, as something not to be disgraced or degraded.

Tseng Tzŭ's disciple, Yüeh-chêng Tzŭ -ch'un, said:

"Of all things born of Heaven & nurtured by the Earth, there is nothing greater than Man. Man is born whole (全) of his parents, and should be restored in his wholeness to the parents. That is called Filial Piety. Not to degrade one's self, in order not to disgrace one's parents: that is what is meant by 'keeping one's self whole.'"

"Therefore a gentleman dares not forget his parents in any step he takes in life.…

"He dares not lift one foot without thinking of his parents. Nor dares he utter a single word without thinking of his parents."

That is the religion of Filial Duty.

And the moral basis of it is a kind of individualism: "Nothing is greater than Man."

Such works as the *Book of Filial Piety*, the *Ta Hsüeh*, the *Chung Yung*, and the *Ju Hsing* (Bk. 38 of *Li Chi*) & C., are representative works of the Individualism of the Confucianist Schools.

Its central theme may be best summed up in one sentence in the *Ta Hsüeh*:

"From the Son of Heaven down to the common man (庶人), all must regard the cultivation of the self (修身) as the ['*pen*' (本)] foundation of all things."

It differs from the other & more "egoistic" schools of Individualism in two

aspects:

1. It does not ignore the intellectualistic approach (致知) in exchange of a purely voluntaristic (情欲) approach.

2. It does not ignore the social responsibilities of the individual.

Mencius, the great representative of this school, shall be separately discussed later.

Egoism of Yang Chu

The 4th century B.C. saw the rise of an extreme form of Individualism in the teaching of Yang Chu.

Yang Chu's works have long been lost. But there is no doubt that Yang Chu did teach an Egoistic doctrine, which had great vogue in the 4th & 3rd centuries B.C.

Mencius whose date was traditionally set at 372-289 B.C., said that at his time the teachings of Mo Ti and Yang Chu were widely spread throughout the world. Mencius also said that the School of Yang Chu was one of the 3 most influential schools of thought of the age, the other two being the Mo and the *Ju* (Confucian).

Mencius also characterized the teaching of Yang Chu as "Egoism" (*wei-wo*). (为我)

> "Yang Chu taught the doctrine of self-interest: he would not care to benefit the whole world by plucking a single hair from his body."

Mencius also hinted that this school tended to be anarchistic—"*wu-chun*" (no-ruler,—no-government). (无君)

In a philosophical encyclopaedic work known as the *Lü Shih Ch'un Ch'iu*, completed in 239 B.C., there are several chapters which have such titles as

1. "Life as the Ultimate Basis" (本生)
2. "Emphasizing the Importance of the Self" (重己)
3. "Setting High Value on Life" (贵生)
4. "Feelings and Desires"

These chapters seem to contain the essence, if not the exact form, of the Egoistic doctrines of Yang Chu's School.

At any rate, these chapters set forth an interesting philosophy of individualism which must have had so great influence over the thought of the age preceding the compiling of the *Lü* encyclopedia that these chapters actually occupy the first and most prominent place in the whole cyclopaedic scheme.

> "The wise sages are deeply convinced that nothing in this world is more valuable than life.… They do not even care to be an Emperor if emperorship should interfere with living one's own life.
>
> "No one fails to admire the dexterous fingers of the greatest artist. But a man always loves his own fingers better than those of even the greatest artist, because he realizes it is more to his interest to have his own fingers.

"Now my life is my own and it is to my greatest interest that I should preserve it. Its value to me is greater than the throne of an Emperor. I would not care to exchange it for the wealth of the whole world. Once lost, it will never be recovered."

Thus the basis of this Egoism is that life is of greater value to one's self than anything else in the world.

Therefore, the criterion of human conduct should be: "Will it be conducive to life? Will it be injurious to life?"

The art of "Setting High Value on Life" (贵生) is so to act as to achieve the fullest enjoyment of all the good things of life.

The formula is expressed thus:

"The highest is to live the whole life (全生). The Next is to live a partial or incomplete life (亏生). The Next is death (死). But the worst is to live under compulsion (迫生)."

To live the whole life means that all our desires can attain their proper fulfilment.

To live a partially fulfilled life means that the desires can only have incomplete fulfilment.

Death means the end of knowledge and the return to the state prior to birth.

But to live a life under compulsion not only means the denial of what one most desires, but also means the subjection to what one most dislikes: it means servitude and degradation. The greatest degradation is to be forced to live in unrighteousness.

"Therefore, I say, to live under compulsion is worse than death.

"Why?

"To hear what you dislike to hear is worse than hearing nothing at all. To see what you dislike to see is worse than seeing nothing at all. To have all one's desires subjected to most undesirable conditions and to have no escape from such, — that is worse than having no feeling and no knowledge at all, which state is death.

"Therefore, to live under compulsion is worse than death."

This is the philosophy of Egoistic Individualism.

Negatively, it is against compulsion, against restraint, against suppression of proper fulfilment of human desires.

Positively, it is for freedom, for proper satisfaction of human desires, for setting high value on human life and the enjoyment of life.

Politically, it advocates non-interference and non-activity on the part of the rulers. It upholds "self-interest" as the motivating power in government.

"Every man is for his own interest. Utilize every man's self-interest, but do not rely upon his interest in working for you: in this way, every man can be of use to you." (慎到) 人莫不自为也。……用人之自为，不用人之为我，则莫不可得而用矣。

There is much wisdom in this political philosophy. It is not merely laissez-

faire. It teaches that a ruler should practice 3 "nos":

No knowledge (无智)
No ability (无能)
No action (无为)
(分职篇)

"When the ruler confesses his ignorance, then he can make full use of all people who know.

"When he confesses his inability, then he can make full use of people who have capabilities.

"When he practices non-action, then he can make other people do the work."

It seems that the development of individualism in its extreme egoistic form must have had great influence on the Confucianist School.

Certainly, Mencius' works show this influence.

Mencius (c. 372-289 B.C.)

Mencius was probably the most individualistic of all Confucianists whose works have survived the ravages of time.

He has been considered the great teacher of a democratic political philosophy. His democratic philosophy has its root in the recognition of the worth of the individual.

The worth of the individual is based on his conception of the original goodness of human nature. (性善)

The problem of the nature of man had been discussed by the thinkers of the 4th century B.C. (Indeed, the discussion goes back to the time of Confucius.)

According to the *Book of Mencius*, there were 3 views of human nature:

1. That "there is neither good nor evil in human nature." (Kao Tzŭ) "It is just like water, which can be made to flow eastward or westward." "The nature of man is simply that which he is born with." (生之谓性)

2. That "man is by nature capable of being good and of being evil. Therefore, under good government, the people tend to love goodness; and under bad government, the people tend to love evil."

3. That "some men are by nature good; others by nature evil. Therefore, even under such an ideal ruler as Yao, there was Hsiang (象), the bad man; and even an evil father like Ku Sou could have a perfect son like Shun (舜)."

All these views seemed quite reasonable from the point of view of common sense and history.

But Mencius took a view which was apparently opposed to common sense but which, probably because of that, made him immortal throughout the ages.

His view is that man is by nature good. His arguments run like this:

Man is born with all capabilities for goodness. These are called ts'ai (才), or tuan (端, beginnings or seeds).

> "The sense of pity is in every man; the sense of shame is in every man; the sense of respect is in every man; and the sense of right & wrong is in every man.
>
> "Now, the sense of pity is the beginning of charity (or benevolence). The sense of shame is the beginning of righteousness. The sense of respect is the beginning of courtesy. The sense of right & wrong is the beginning of knowledge.
>
> "Man is born with these four capabilities (*tuan*) just as he is born with hands & feet.
>
> "Charity, righteousness, courtesy, & knowledge are not drilled into us: we have got them originally with us."

Therefore, it is said: "Seek them and ye shall find them. Abandon them and ye shall lose them."

According to Mencius, all evil is the result of environment.

> "Man is born good just as water naturally flows downward. There is no man that is not good, just as there is no water that does not flow downward.
>
> "But by striking water and causing it to leap up, you may make it reach beyond one's forehead. And by damming and leading it, you may even force it up a hill. But are such movements according to the nature of water? No. It is the force applied which causes them.
>
> "When men are made to do what is not good, their nature is dealt with in the same way.
>
> "In good years, most of the young people are good; while in bad years, most of the young people become bad. It is not that they are so different in natural endowments. It is because there are circumstances which may cause the degradation of human nature.
>
> "With proper nourishment, there is nothing which will not grow. Without proper nourishment, there is nothing which will not decay away."

There is much in this theory of Mencius which is not quite convincing to common sense. But it has its strong appeal to the human mind. When you compare this view of human original goodness with the Christian view of "original sin," which has had its theological authority for so many centuries, — then you can understand why Mencius has had such great hold on the Chinese mind throughout the ages.

The social & political consequences of Mencius' theory of the original goodness of human nature are considerable.

1. It gives a dignity to the common man: it openly leads to the concept of the equality of human worth.

> "The sages & I are of the same kind."
>
> "He is a man; I am a man: why should I be afraid of him?"
>
> "Who was Shun? Who am I? Whosoever makes the effort, can be like him."

2. It especially confers a sense of dignity to the intellectual class.

Mencius, while acknowledging the equality of mankind, does make a distinction between those who only nourish their "minor organs" and those who nourish the "major organ" — namely, the mind which thinks.

> "All things are already complete in us. There is no greater happiness for a man than that of turning to his own self and realizing that he has been true to it." 反身而诚，乐莫大焉。

[This sentence has been an inspiration to later Individualistic thinkers.]

He who cultivates the "major organ" is a great man. He who cultivates the "minor organs" is a little man.

And he lays down this classic definition of the truly "great man":

> "To dwell in the wide house of the world, to stand in the proper place in the world, and to walk in the great path of the world; to lead the people onto his path when he has his opportunity [of public service], and to pursue his own course when he is denied the [political] opportunity; [he is] incapable of being corrupted by riches and honors, incapable of being swerved by poverty & lowliness, and incapable of being bent by power and force: such a man is to be called the truly great man."

3. In pedagogical theory, Mencius stresses the importance of unfolding the natural capacities in men, of letting the pupil "find out things by themselves," and of avoiding impatient and "forced feeding."

This emphasis on "自得" "finding out by one's self" leads to free and independent thinking.

Mencius was boldly critical of some of the ancient scriptures, such as the *Book of History*.

> "To believe in all books is worse than to have no books at all."
>
> "His approach to the *Book of Songs* was one of original & independent thinking." 以意逆志，是为得之。

4. In political philosophy, Mencius stands for the "supremacy of the people."

> "The people are the most important element [in a country]; the altars [of the gods] of Land and Grain are the next; the sovereign is the least important.
>
> "Therefore, he who wins [the heart of] the people becomes the Son of Heaven.
>
> ……
>
> "When a prince endangers the altars of the gods of Land and Grain, he is to be removed and another appointed in his place.
>
> "And when the gods are worshipped with proper sacrifices and at proper seasons, if yet there ensue drought or floods, then the gods of Land and Grain are to be removed and others set up in their place."

Chapt. IV. (Mencius)

To the King of Liang, Mencius said: "Is there any difference between killing people with a club and with a sword?"

The King said: "There is no difference."

"Is there any difference between murdering people with a sword and with [bad] government?" The king said: "There is no difference."

Mencius said: "In your kitchen, there is [plenty of] fat meat; in your stables there are fat horses. But your people have the look of hunger; and in the wilderness there are bodies of men who have died of famine. That is [equivalent to] leading on beasts to devour human beings.

"When beasts devour one another, men hate them [for doing so]. Now a King, the father & mother of his people, so administers his government as to be leading on beasts to devour men,—what shall we think of such a prince as the father & mother of his people?"

Confucius once said: "He who first invented the clay figures to be buried with the dead, should die without posterity." That was because those clay figures thus used were too much resembling real human beings.

"When shall we think of him who causes his people to die of hunger?"

Confucius had taught a principle of "quid pro quo" between the ruler & his ministers & subjects, when he said:

"When the prince employs his ministers with courtesy, his ministers will serve him with loyalty. 君使臣以礼，臣事君以忠。

"When the sovereign regards his subjects as his own hands and feet, his subjects will regard him as their belly and heart.

"When he regards them as his dogs and horses, they will regard him as simply a passer-by on the road (路人).

"When he regards them as grass and dirt, they will regard him as a robber and an enemy."

He frankly justifies revolutions to overthrow a tyrant, and even the execution of tyrannical rulers by the people. A tyrannical ruler is not a ruler at all: he has forfeited his rights by alienating the sympathies of the people— he is merely a nobody. This is a principle which Confucius probably implied in his re-writing of the *Ch'un Ch'iu* Chronicles, but which he never explicitly stated.

The Works of Mencius are written in most simple, elegant but forceful prose—the best of ancient classical prose. The use of *Mencius* as required reading in all schools throughout the ages, has had a liberating and even revolutionary effect on Chinese thought.

The Founder of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1398) who founded his Empire by a revolution against the Mongols, & who came from among the people, was troubled by the democratic & revolutionary ideas of Mencius.

In 1394, he caused an expurgated edition to be issued, under the title of 孟子节文, which eliminated 85 chapters and retained only about 170 chapters.

But this Imperial edition had no influence over the general public! *Mencius*

continued to be read *in toto*.

Development of Universalism

As we have seen, the School of Mo Ti taught the political-religious theory of "Upward Conformity," which upholds the will of God as the highest norm of right—a theocratic state.

The logical theory of this school maintains that the universal (名) sums up the particular of the same class (类). It developed the concept of *Fa* (法) which originally means a mold for shaping the "form" of anything. "All things formed out of the same mold (法) are similar to one another."

There are two aspects of this concept:

1. All particulars that can be grouped under one universal idea, are the same,—are equals. Hence this logical theory can support the doctrine of "Universal Love"—love for all men without distinction.

Hsun Tzŭ's criticism that "Mo Tzu has grasped the idea of uniformity (齐); but failed to grasp that of individuality (畸) or oddity."

2. The same logic leads to an over-emphasis of the importance of the universal as the key to knowledge & control of the particulars.

This was esp. true of the religion of Moism which seems to abhor the danger of each individual posing as his own judge of right and wrong. (一人一义)

This religion postulated an ideal state of "Upward Conformity": What those high above approve to be right, must be accepted by all to be right. What those above disapprove as not-right, must be accepted by all as not-right."

Here we have a form of theocratic totalitarianism, when it upholds the God as the Highest Universal for the rectification of all groups and individuals.

In the 4th & 3rd centuries B.C., while the theocratic religion of Moism still flourished, political consolidation was going on in all directions. The small states were rapidly disappearing, being absorbed by the few great Powers.

Irresistibly everybody began to see the possibility of a great unified empire as the solution of all the evils of frequent wars and conquests. Mencius was asked by a young King of Liang: "When will the world be at peace?" Mencius answered: "The world will be at peace when it becomes unified."

"Who can unify the world?"

"He who has no pleasure in killing men can unify it."

Neither would the Mo School, which opposed all wars, wish to see the empire unified by a military conqueror.

But these idealistic thinkers were to be disappointed. China was to be united into one great empire by military conquest which took nearly two centuries to accomplish, & which finally came in 221 B.C.

But when that dream of a unitary empire came true, it was not one based upon the principles of benevolence, or universal love, or laissez-faire. It was a totalitarian system very much like the ideal state of "upward conformity" as taught by Mo Ti,—but with an absolute monarchy taking the place of the will of God, and with

suppression of all free thought & private teaching, including that of Moism which had taught the theory of "Upward Conformity"!

536 B.C. Tzŭ Ch'an of the State of Chêng, published a "Penal Book" (刑书) by having it cast on bronze. For this act, he was criticized by even the wisest of his contemporaries, including his friend Yang-shê Hsi (羊舌肸).

During these centuries of strife, there was being developed a philosophy of Law (*fa*).

1. Moist conception of "*fa*":

> "*Fa* (mold) is that in accordance with which a thing becomes so."
> 法，形若而然也。

In this sense, *fa* is a mold, a model, a standard.

Examples: the carpenter's square, the compasses, weights & measures

2. Yin Wen Tzu (尹文), who was probably one of the later Moists, conceives of *fa* as having four types:

(1) The unchangeable order (不变之法) such as the relation between the ruler & the subject, the superior & the inferior

(2) The empirical rules such as similarity & dissimilarity

(3) Laws for governing the people, such as penalties & rewards as fixed by governments

(4) Standards such as weights & measures

3. Shen Tao: (4th cent. B.C.)

> "A *fa* is a definite and impartial measure for the purpose of standardizing the action of all men."

4. Han Fei: (d. 233 B.C.)

> "A *fa* is that which is written on record, kept in public offices, and published (proclaimed) to the people."

5. Han Fei:

> "A *fa* is that of which the texts are published by the government and of which the sanctions & penalties are regarded as certain in the minds of the people so that obedience is sure to be approved and violation is sure to be punished."

Summing up these ideas we may say that by the 3rd century B.C., there has been developed a general conception of Law which implies:

1. That it must be written and recorded.
2. That it must be publicly proclaimed (published).
3. Uniformly applicable.
4. It must have sanctions for its enforcement.

The philosophy of Law was a consummation of all schools of thought. It is wrong to postulate a particular school of "Legalists."

It contains:

1. The logic of universalism which holds that particulars (facts, persons, cases)

can be controlled by a universal concept (ideas, laws).

Being universal in nature, a law must apply to all persons: it must have no exceptions.

This conception of universality implies the notion of equality before the law.

This is in contrast with the old idea that penalties applied only to the masses (庶人), but not to the classes.

2. It was easy for the naturalists to see that the ideal law may be in conformity with the law (way) of nature.

Even the naturalistic philosophy of non-activity comes into this philosophy of Law. Many of the theorists of law believed that once a good law is made, it may stay and remain as immutable standards: Government by such standard laws is the best way to achieve the ideal of non-action.

Some of the thinkers, notably Shen Tao (慎到), believed that the ideal of non-interference or non-activity can be achieved by government by law, that is, by objective standards as distinct from government by the subjective & arbitrary human will and caprice.

> "Men draw lots in dividing money or horses, not because lottery is wiser or more just than human judgment, but because men wish to avoid any complaint of partiality [by resorting to such impersonal & objective methods]."

This idealization of the government by law,—by objective & universal standards which, once instituted, are not to be subjected to alteration by arbitrary human will,—was actually the dream of idealistic political thinkers who abhorred governmental interference and preached the doctrine of non-activity (*wu-wei*) but who thought that government placed on the foundation of standard laws might be the most effective way of attaining non-activity and non-interference.

The spurious Kwan Tzŭ says:

> "When the names (universals) are rectified and laws are completed, then the sage-rulers have nothing more to do." (名正法备，则圣人无事。) (《白心篇》)

Another spurious work, the *Shih Tzŭ* (《尸子》), says:

> "When the universals (名) are rectified and the particulars (实) are all covered [by them], then affairs will be accomplished as if they were transformed of themselves, and no penalties or punishments will be necessary."

Alas! These idealists were to be disappointed.

Mencius came nearest to the truth when he said (probably quoting a generally accepted truism):

> "Goodness alone is not enough for the exercise of government; laws alone cannot carry themselves into practice."

Those thinkers who idealized government by standard laws were consciously or unconsciously dreaming of what in modern terminology may be called "a constitutional monarchy" in which the monarch abides by the basic laws of the state and is supposed not to do anything to violate or change them.

The pressing problem of the time was that of the hereditary monarch, who rules by right of succession, but who may be very clever and benevolent but may be very stupid and violent.

Those who preached non-action in government or government by immutable laws were in reality trying to find a method which would make the hereditary monarch harmless.

Han Fei said:

> "Even the wisest sage-ruler (Yao) could not rule a country if he had no laws but his own mind to rely upon, just as the cleverest craftsman could not make a single wheel if he had no compasses & the carpenter's square and had to rely upon his own guesses & observations…. But if we make the mediocre prince abide by the law just as we make the clumsy craftsman abide by the compasses, the carpenter's square & the tape measure,—then nothing will go wrong."

That is ideal of a constitutional monarchy.

But the trouble is: how can you make the hereditary monarch abide by the law?

It would be fine for all the rats if the cat would wear bells so that his approach could always be heard. But who will go & bell the cat?

Much of the fine talk about government by law, which one finds in the philosophical works of the 4th, 3rd & 2nd centuries B.C. in China, sounds just like the minutes of the rats' meeting discussing the wonderful merits if only the cat could be made to wear bells on his neck!

The net result, therefore, was not a government by law in the sense of laws that will be binding on the king or emperor, but the development of absolute monarchical government by drastic penalties & punishments for the suppression and oppression of the people!

That was quite natural. Government by law has never been realized except when it is accompanied by some form of effective democratic control of the government.

When there is no democratic control, government by law has never be real. As Mencius has observed, "laws alone cannot carry themselves into operation."

That is why this whole development of the philosophy of government by law was not received by later ages with favor or enthusiasm.

Sad & bitter experience has taught China that all this fine philosophy of law & government by law had not touched the real problem, let alone its solution.

Hsun Tzŭ's theory of the original evil nature of man and its connection with the development of an absolute monarchy

But there was a school of thought which has probably contributed more to this legal philosophy than its founder was conscious of or willing to admit. That was the theory of the original badness of human nature (性恶说) as taught by Hsun Tzŭ (probably died about 235 B.C.). His theory is as follows:

> "The nature of man is evil: its goodness is the result of culture.
>
> "Man is by nature acquisitive (好利); if he follows that, there arises strife

and disappears all courtesy.

"Man is by nature (疾恶) jealous and strong in his dislikes; if he follows that, there arises injury & murder and disappears all faith & trust in other men.

"Man is by nature sensuous; if he follows that, there arises adultery and riotous living and all civilized ways of living will disappear.

"Therefore, if men follow their natural impulses & desires, society will be plunged into conflict and robbery, lose all order & class distinction, and end in violence or anarchy.

"Because human nature is evil, therefore good teachers & standards are required to set men to the right path.

"If man were good by nature, there would be no need for sage-rulers or for rulers of conduct."

This philosophy is just as unconvincing to common sense as its opposite view of the original goodness of human nature.

But it is a historical fact that the conception of human nature as good tends to support a free, humane, individualistic and democratic type of philosophy, while the conception of human nature as evil lends itself to the support of a type of political philosophy which stresses the importance of uniformity, regimentation, and despotism.

Hsun Tzŭ himself teaches the doctrine of "building up a culture by transforming human nature" (化性而起伪).

But out of his school, there came two great disciples: one was Han Fei who preaches an authoritarian form of absolute monarchy; and the other was Li Ssu (died 208 B.C.) who became the great Minister under the First Emperor of Ch'in and helped him to unify the empire by conquest and, after the unification, to persecute & prohibit by most drastic measures all free thought and private teaching.

Development of Naturalism ①

1. Conceptions of Natural Evolution
2. A more positive & active conception of Evolution by Adaptation (合)
3. Conceptions of Historical Evolution as the result of human effort & achievement
4. Conceptions of historical evolution as a natural transition of the Five Virtues (or forces) in a predetermined order (五德终始)

Natural Evolution

That there was much speculation about the process of natural evolution during the 4th & 3rd centuries B.C., cannot be doubted.

Unfortunately, we possess no authentic literature of that age which deals with this subject. We can only infer from frequent reference to, or the social & political applications of, the evolutionary theory that at that age there was among certain

thinkers some general acceptance as to the natural process by which the universe and all things in it have come to be.

It was recorded, for example, that the philosopher Hui Shih (惠施) (c. 380-300 B.C.) was asked by Huang Liao (黄缭) "why Heaven does not fall down, why the earth does not go under, and the cause of wind, rain, thunder & lightning." Hui Shih, in reply, gave an explanation of all things (编为万物说). It was said that Hui Shih's writings were so voluminous as to fill five carts!

But what we have today of Hui Shih's sayings amounts to less than 200 words! That ratio (5 carts' writings to 200 words!) gives us some idea of the loss of ancient scientific & philosophical literature!

About the year 140 B.C., there was written another philosophical encyclopaedia, called the *Book of the Prince of Huai-nan*" (《淮南王书》), also known as *Huai-nan Tzŭ* , published in the name of the Prince Liu An (reigned in Huai-nan 164-122 B.C.), a grandson of the Founder of the Han Empire.

This cyclopaedia contains some account or summary of what may be assumed as the prevailing philosophical view of the natural evolution of the universe.

This summary is given in various versions, some more detailed, others only in brief & concise form.

A brief version of the conception of natural evolution is found in Chapter III:

> "In the beginning, there was neither Heaven, nor Earth. There was only Formlessness. This was called the Great Beginning.
>
> "The Tao (Way of evolution) began with the Void. The Void begat Space (宇 *yü*) and Time (宙 *chow*). Space & Time begat the *ch'i* (气, aura).
>
> "Now the *ch'i* (aura) began to have limitation and extent. Its pure and light & active part floated above and became Heaven. Its impure and heavy part congealed together and became the Earth.
>
> "It was easier for the pure & light part of the *ch'i* to float together than for the impure & heavy part to solidify. Therefore, Heaven first came into being, and the Earth was formed later.
>
> "The common 'elements' (*ching* 精) of Heaven & Earth are two: the *Yin* & *Yang*, from which came the seasons & all things." (天文训第二)

In chapter II of the same encyclopaedia, there is a more detailed account of this evolution of the universe in Seven Stages:

1. There was only calm and quiet: There was no form.
2. There was forming the *ch'i*.
3. The *ch'i* was "working," and the basis (根) of Being & Non-being was being made.
4. The *ch'i* of Heaven was going up and that of the Earth was coming down, and the forces of *yin* & *yang* were coming into play in Space & Time. But there were yet no signs of things.
5. There were signs of things in the process of coming: yet there were no things or species.
6. All things were now formed: plants with roots, stalks, branches, & leaves; and animals of flying, of crawling, of walking & of hibernation: "All now could be touched and felt; all now could be counted or measured."
7. With the coming of all Being, there was simultaneously formed Non-being

(void) which is invisible, soundless, formless & limitless: "It cannot be counted or measured, but light can go through it."

These are some of the accounts of the process of the evolution of the universe and of all things in it.

The important point to observe is that this conception does not presuppose a God as the Creator. There was only the Way of Creation without a Creator.

It was a conception of natural evolution: of the Universe somehow coming into being of itself; and of all things becoming so of themselves.

That was the general view of natural evolution.

There were more specific theories of evolution.

1. There was apparently a theory that all species come from very minute eggs or germs called *chi* (几) which under different kinds of environment become different kinds of species of living beings. (*Chuang Tzu*)

These primary *chi* become one kind of organism in water; and another kind in regions bordering between water & land; and another kind on hilly regions etc. etc.

2. There was apparently a theory that the change and survival of the various species of living beings are due to the ability of the particular species to adapt themselves to their environmental requirements.

This theory was also preserved in the *Huai-nan Tzŭ*, in Chapters 1, 19, & 13.

> "All living beings have the same instincts to seek favorable conditions and to avoid harmful and injurious conditions. (见利而就，遇害而去，其情一也。)
>
> "Each species has its natural tendencies & aptitudes. But if it does not learn (禀受) or receive from the external influences, it will exhaust its energies and accomplish very little.
>
> "Therefore, the wild duck learns to fly with the tail-wind in order to economize its effort; and to fly with a reed in its mouth in order to protect itself against shooting arrows.
>
> "Ants build their ant-hills, and moles burrow their deep and often zigzag tunnels….
>
> "These things show that birds & animals use their (instinctive) knowledge and seek to adapt (求合) themselves to conditions that are favorable to them." (鸟兽之以所知求合于其所利。) (修务训)

Naturalism ②

From these accounts, we can see that there were in ancient China two types of theories of natural evolution:

1. A more passive view of purely natural process of change: All things become so of themselves.

2. Another type of natural evolution in the biological world where each species uses its special aptitude to adapt itself to its special environment.

Chuang Tzu (probably died about 275 B.C.) seems to have developed a

philosophy of moral pessimism, logical nihilism, and political laissez-faire on the basis of the first type of passive naturalism.

> "The life of all things gallops on. There is no movement which is not changing. There is no moment in which there is no change. What to do? What not to do? All things will transform themselves any way.
>
> "The stork does not become white by bleaching itself every day. Nor does the crow become black by blackening itself every day."

If all things become so of themselves, it is therefore foolish for us to anticipate nature by premature effort on our part. Let us, therefore, abide by time and resign ourselves to the inevitable process of natural change. (Fatalism)

How do I know that what I consider as human effort (free will) is not predetermined?

This fatalistic conception of human destiny is fully developed in the 6th Bk. of *Chuang Tzu*. (Compare Spinoza)

The logical nihilism is developed in its 2nd Bk.

Right & Wrong, Truth & False are constantly changing. What was wrong yesterday becomes right today.

Argument implies imperfect knowledge.

How do I know that what I now consider knowledge is not ignorance after all?

Life is finite. Knowledge is infinite. For finite life to pursue infinite knowledge—how hopeless & perilous it is!

In the end, no distinction of right & wrong is necessary, because each has its time & place. And no human effort is necessary, because everything will become so of itself somehow and sometime.

But there was another & more positive approach to the process of natural evolution.

> "Just as the animals use their natural aptitudes to adapt themselves to their external environment, so can men use their knowledge to avoid what harms them and to attach themselves to what favors them."

Therefore "men seek their own adaptations whenever they are faced with difficult situations. And they create their own equipments whenever they have to encounter disasters." (《氾论训》)

It was human effort to deal with their physical environment that gradually led men to build up their civilization.

All historical development of civilization is the cumulative result of man's creative effort to "make tools" for his own convenience & comfort.

This view of historical evolution as the result of conscious & active human effort in fighting against material environment & in making his own tools for his own well-being, was developed by Han Fei who divided human history into 3 periods:

① Remote Antiquity: the age of invention of house-building & of the use of fire
② Middle Antiquity: the age of human control of floods
③ Recent Antiquity: the age of conquest & empire-building

> "The Sage-ruler never endeavors to follow the ancients, nor to model his

policy after what has been traditionally approved. He studies the events of his time & makes preparations for them.

"When times change, men's work (事) must also change. When men's work changes, new preparations & new equipments have to be made." (Han Fei) 守株待兔之喻

He attacked the Confucian & Moist doctrine of modeling statecraft after the example of ancient sage-rulers.

"Confucius & Mo Tzu both talked about Yao & Shun, but their ideas of Yao & Shun differed radically, and yet each believed that his version of Yao & Shun was the authentic one!

"Yao & Shun are long dead. Who shall be the judge to determine which version of Yao & Shun is the real one?

"To talk dogmatically of remote antiquity with no real proof or evidence: that is foolishness.

"And consciously to base any theory on remote antiquity without any possibility of establishing its authenticity: that is deliberate perjury.

"Therefore, those who openly talked about the sage-rulers of antiquity as the basis of their teaching and who dogmatically asserted the authenticity of Yao & Shun are guilty of either ignorance or deliberate perjury." (Han Fei)

Therefore, this school of human historical progress openly advocated political reform on the new basis of actual study of the present-day needs & requirements.

"Laws must change with the needs of the time. When the laws cannot meet the needs of the changing times, there will be disaster."

This view is also emphasized in the *Lü Shih Ch'un Ch'iu*, among the editors of which was probably Li Ssu, who was a fellow student with Han Fei in the School of Hsun Tzŭ.

Li Ssu said in his famous memorial of 213 B.C.:—

"The Five Emperors did not copy one another, nor did the Three Dynasties mold themselves each after its predecessor. They all achieved their success in government. They probably did not intend to differ from one another. They merely had to deal with entirely different times & conditions. …What properly belonged to the Three Dynasties may not be worthy of imitation by the present regime."

And he forcefully carried out the most drastic policy of prohibiting free speaking & private teaching:

"All who uphold the Ancients to criticize the present regime, should be punished by death together with their whole family."

The same view of historical progress was maintained by Lu Chia (陆贾), one of the scholars who served as adviser under the Founder of the Han Empire, & who lived to old age, dying probably in 170 B.C. He left a work known as the *New Discourses* (*Hsin Yü*) in 12 Books.

He also divided history into three Periods:

1. The Age of Early Sages (先圣)
   Establishment of family relations of social & political order
   Invention of cooking by fire
   Invention of agriculture
   Invention of housing
   Invention of sericulture & weaving
   Control of water-ways
   Invention of ships & carts, domestication of animals as beasts of burden
   Development of carpentry, pottery, metal-working—all for "tool-making"
   Establishment of law courts & administration of justice
2. The Age of the Middle Sages (中圣):
   It was essentially an age of education by establishment of schools.
   Further stabilization of social & political order thereby
3. The Age of the Latter-day Sages (后圣):
   Rise of Philosophy
   Establishment of the Sacred Scriptures
   Development of Literature
   Development of Music
   Development of Dances
   Development of Fine Arts (sculpture, painting, embroidery, lacquer, etc.)

4. The concept of change as a purely natural process without benefit of a God or the gods,—that is, things become so of themselves,—was one of those very great and revolutionary ideas in the history of thought and naturally had its effect felt by all schools of thought.

All schools of the *Ju* were effected by this naturalistic conception, but there were various degrees of this naturalistic influence. The extreme form of naturalism gradually differentiates itself from the other schools of thought and came to be known as a separate school—that of Taoism.

"Taoism" (道家) was a term which came into use about the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. It was an Eclectic School which accepted many ideas from the various schools of thought, but which maintained the central theme of a "natural way of becoming."

The *yin-yang* School (allegedly originating from the Confucian School of Tzŭ Ssŭ (子思) and Mencius?)

Naturalism ③

Those Confucianists who devoted much time to the study of the *Book of Change* and built up a naturalistic philosophy on the basis of that ancient book of divination may also be called thinkers of a Naturalistic School.

During the 4th & 3rd centuries B.C., some Confucianist scholars developed another type of naturalism on the basis of the Five Elements and the Two Forces (of *yin* & *yang*).

This was attributed to Tzŭ Ssŭ, grandson of Confucius, & Mencius who was a student of Tzŭ Ssŭ. The change was made by Hsun Tzŭ who ought to know.

But the greatest name connected with the development of the philosophy of the

Five Elements and *yin* & *yang*, was that of Chou Yen (邹衍). Chou Yen probably flourished in the early decades of the 3rd century B.C.

He was a man with a very bold imagination. He came from the Eastern coastal kingdom of Ch'i which was noted for wildest imaginative stories.

He wrote an imaginative Geography and an imaginative History.

In his Geography, he regarded China (the "Middle Kingdom") was only one of the 81 parts of the world. There were 9 great "Continents" (州), each surrounded by great seas & oceans, and separated from one another. China was only one country occupying about one-ninth of one of these 9 Continents.— cf. 《吕览》 XIII Ch. 1. 有

In his imaginative History, he conceived of historical change as a long and continuous series of natural transitions following "the Law of Cycles of the Five Virtues represented by the Five Elements."

> "Ever since the time of the separation of Heaven & Earth, the Five Virtues have followed their natural sequence in coming into predominance. When one Virtue comes into Predominance, governmental policies must be adapted to the characteristics of that particular Virtue.
>
> "Adaptation to the predominant Virtue will bring forth propitious responses in the heavens & on earth. Policies & acts in contrary to the predominating Virtue will bring forth unfavorable responses in the heavens & on earth."

To conceive of periodic transition of political power as not only legitimate but even providential and inevitable, was a revolutionary doctrine.

Indeed this doctrine was always resorted to, whenever a peaceful transfer of power from a weakened & degenerate Imperial House to a powerful minister took place.

But in this fantastic, purely imaginative kind of "philosophy of history," there were mixed all ingredients of popular belief and traditional religion. There was no conscious demarkation between Divine Will and Natural Change.

It was a pseudo-scientific way of treating the ancient doctrine of Heavenly Mandate (天命)!

The pseudo-scientific aspect was to assume that there is naturalistic basis of change which does not come through a deity directing or bringing the change or transition, but which comes about through the working of a natural force called 气 (the subtle emanation of nature). The *ch'i* operates by the law that "The like attract and affect the like." (召类)

> "What are of the same kind (*lei* 类) are mutually attracted. The same kind of *ch'i* is attracted together, just as the same kind of [musical] sound vibrates sympathetically to each other.
>
> "Strike a C (*kung*) note, and it will produce a sympathetic resonance from a similar note. Strike an E (*chüeh*) note, and another E note will resonate to it.
>
> "When a [new] dynasty is coming to power, Heaven first causes certain sympathetic omens to appear to the people. Then the sage-ruler will realize that the *ch'i* of a particular element is coming into predominance and he must direct his policies accordingly." (Ch. 2 of Bk. XIII of 《吕氏》)

E.g., 文王之时，天先见火。赤鸟衔丹书，集于周社。文王曰，“火气胜。”

The Cycle of the Five Virtues as accepted in the 3rd century was as follows:

Wood (Agriculture—Benevolence)
↓ (conquers or overcomes)
Earth (Construction—Humility)
↓
Water (Law & Penalties—Order)
↓
Fire (War—Military—Light—Wisdom)
↓ (Justice—Decision—)
Metal → Wood → Earth →

The Historical Sequence, therefore, should be:

Wood (Hsia) 夏
↓
Metal (Shang)商
↓ (yields to)
Fire (Chou) 周
↓ (yields to)
Water (Ch'in) 秦
↓
Earth
↓
Wood
↓
Metal

In the year 221 B.C., the First Emperor, having unified the empire by conquest, decided that since the preceding Chou Dynasty was supposed by the philosophers to be an age predominated by the Virtue of Fire, his new dynasty must be one predominated by the Virtue of Water which conquers Fire. The Emperor thereupon proclaimed these “characteristic policies” to conform to the Virtue of Water:

1. Imperial color—Black
2. Imperial number—Six
3. Calendar begins with the 10th mo.
4. Reliance upon Law & Penalties as the chief means of government

But in the popular belief of the time, the Ch'in people came from the West and at one time worshipped the White God,—therefore must be predominated by the Virtue of Metal. And Metal can be conquered by Fire. Therefore, the Founder of the Han Dynasty created the legend that he was “Son of the Red God” (Fire) who was to kill the “Son of the White God” (Metal).

Half-baked scholars (Confucian) like Chang Ch'ang, held different views. They denied that Ch'in was a legitimate dynasty to be honored by any Virtue at all. They therefore considered Han as successor to the Chou Dynasty, and predominated by

the Virtue of Water.

In the year 166 B.C., another scholar (公孙臣) suggested to the Throne that Ch'in was of the Virtue of Water which was overcome by Han which therefore must be an age of Earth.

The controversy was not fully settled until the 1st century A.D. when it was officially proclaimed that Ch'in was of the Virtue of Metal and Han was an era of Fire which overcame Metal!

The theory of the cyclical change or transition had its traditional as well as revolutionary elements.

It goes back to the ancient doctrine that the Mandate of Heaven is never constant. No royal house, no dynasty is specially favored by God or Heaven to rule forever.

The time will come when, either by the will of God or by the natural operation of the law of cyclical change, the decadent dynasty no longer predominated by its particular Virtue will have to pass out and its place will be taken by another dynasty which conforms to the Virtue coming into predominance in a new age.

Note:

In a later period (2nd century) there arose the "Law of the Sequence of Production of the Five Virtues" (相生):

木 火 土 金 水 Wood
生 生 生 生 生 ↓
火 土 金 水 木 Fire
↓
Earth
↓
Metal
↓
Water
↓
Wood

Therefore, when in the year 220 A.D. the Han Emperor handed the throne to the powerful House of Ts'ao, the new dynasty of Wei (魏) considered itself as of the Virtue, not of Water which conquers Fire, but of Earth which, in the order of production, was "born of Fire."

The Book of "Monthly Commandments" or "Orders" (月令) (Bk. 4 of Li Chi)

It was incorporated into the *Lü Encyclopedia* (239 B.C.); it became Bk. V of the *Huai-nan Encyclopedia*.

It states what ought to be done in each month in accordance with the natural

fitness of that month.

It also states what must be avoided in each month as against its natural fitness.

For the First month [February, the month of 立春 (Feb. 4)],

Things to be done:—

Acts of benevolence
Astronomical administration
Imperial patronage & practice of agriculture
Land improvement
Educational work
Sacrifices

Things to be avoided:

Cutting down trees
Amassing of people
Building cities & walls
Wars

"To practice Summer policies in the first month of Spring, will bring about unreasonal rainfall.

"To practice Autumn policies in this month, will bring about pestilence and great storms of wind & rain.

"To practice Winter policies in this month, will bring about great floods, severe snowfall & frost, and failure of first plantings." (首种不入)

The End of the Classical Age

The Classical Age (600-220 B.C.) produced in the Founding Period:—

1. Naturalism (Lao Tzu)
2. Humanism (Confucius)
3. Theism and Utilitarianism (Mo Tzu)

Its later developments after 400 B.C. included:—

1. The Movement of Individualism:

(1) Egoistic Individualism with Hedonistic tendencies (Yang Chu & c.)

(2) Individual Cultivation and Social Responsibility (Social or Humanist Individualism?) (Later Confucianists—Mencius)

2. The Movement of Universalism:

(1) Theistic Universalism (Mo)

(2) Logical Universalism (Mo & Jurists)

(3) Psychological Justification of Regimentation (Hsun)

(4) Political Unity & Authoritarian Rule

3. The Development of a Naturalistic Philosophy along many lines:

(1) The prevalence of a naturalistic conception of creation & change

(2) Naturalism in its passive form develops into Fatalism.

(3) Political non-interference

(4) Naturalism in its more active form emphasizes the importance of adjustment or adaptation of the species to its external environment.

(5) This leads to a philosophy of history which conceives of historical progress as human effort in adjustment to the needs of the times.

(6) Naturalism influenced the traditional idea of "the Will or Mandate of Heaven" and produced a strange but powerful philosophy of History, which conceives of historical change as following a law of cyclical transition of the Five Virtues.

(7) Another form of the naturalistic tendency was the Alchemists & the Methodists seeking to prolong and perpetuate the physical life of man.

《吕氏春秋》成书 239 B.C.
Unification by conquest 221 B.C.
Abolition of the Feudal System 221 B.C.
From 220-210 B.C., the First Emperor reigned supreme over his new Empire.
213 B.C. Burning of books
212 B.C. Burying alive of 460 *Ju* or Methodists & Alchemists
210 B.C. Died
209 B.C. Beginning of the Revolution
206 B.C. Fall of the Empire
209-202 B.C. Years of War
202 B.C. Liu Pang became Emperor; Founding of the Han Dynasty
202 B.C.-220 A.D. The Han Dynasty
[221 B.C.-220 A.D. The First Unified Period]

Heritage of the Classical Age

1. Plenty of Popular Superstition & Religious Beliefs & Practices
2. General Increase of Empirical and Scientific Knowledge
   Astronomy,
   Mathematics,
   Medicine,
   etc.
3. Rationalism
   Naturalism
   Intellectualism (Learning, Thinking, Doubting)
4. Humanism
   Predominant Interest in Man & His Life
   Social & Political Relations
   Public Responsibility of the Intellectual Class
   Education
5. Moism as a Religious Movement:

(1) A Theistic Religion
(2) A Purified Siniticism

(3) A Moral & Social Movement emphasizing the importance of a religious sanction

6. Political Ideals & Institutions

Chief Characteristics of Medieval Thought:

1. Unity vs. Freedom
   Decreasing originality & freedom under a unified empire
2. Intellectual Levelling resulting from general racial & social levelling:
   Eclecticism vs. Originality
3. Other-worldliness vs. Humanism
4. Superstition vs. Rationalism

The Ch'in-Han Period
220 B.C.-220 A.D.

The Age of Intellectual Reconsolidation

1. Attempt of Totalitarian Rule and its Failure
2. Laissez-faire as a policy of pacification (*wu-wei*)
3. The Age of Occultism
4. The Establishment of "Confucianism" as the State System of Teaching or "Religion"
5. The First Revolt by Naturalism & Rationalism
6. The Great Deluge of Medievalism

(1) Buddhism

(2) Taoism

Chapter 2
The Medieval Age

The Medieval Age (200 B.C.-1000 A.D.)

1. The Pre-Buddhistic Period (200 B.C.-300 A.D.)
2. The Buddhistic Period (200-1000 A.D.)

Three great events of the Medieval Age:

1. The Task of Building up a Unified Empire
2. The Assimilation of the Many New Races & Tribes into a Chinese Nation.
3. The Founding of the Great Religions

Thinking under the Empire

3 Characteristics of Chinese Medieval Thought

1. Decreasing freedom and originality under a Unified Empire & Absolute Monarchy (无所逃于天地之间) (Unity vs. Freedom)

2. Intellectual levelling as a result of general social levelling and of contact with foreign races & cultures (Eclecticism vs. Originality)

3. Prevalence of other-worldly religions throughout the entire 1200 years—even before "Indianization" (Other worldliness vs. Humanism; Superstition vs. Rationalism)

The Medieval Age opened in 220-210 B.C. with a great Emperor busily journeying throughout the empire, searching for the "elixir of life" and seeking to meet the immortals.

It closed in 1008 A.D. with another great Emperor receiving with all pompous ceremony a Written Message (A Heavenly Book) from the Supreme God of Heaven and travelling from the Capital of Kaifeng to the sacred mountain, Tai Shan, to do

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homage to & communicate with God.

Han Thought

1. Taoism & 70 Years of Laissez-faire
2. Imperial Patronage of Occultism
3. Tung Chung-shu & the Religion of Catastrophes & Anomalies (灾异)
4. A Century of Socialistic Thinking & Wang Mang
5. Wang Ch'ung (27-c. 100)

Han Thought ①

Seventy years of conscious practice of Laissez-faire

The First Empire (Ch'in) founded by military conquest, was to be stabilized by absolute authoritarian despotism.

It disarmed the whole population by confiscating all weapons in private possession.

It abolished the feudal system and divided the empire into 36 administrative districts or provinces to be governed by officials appointed by the central government.

It proclaimed & carried into effect the ideal of a unitary empire under one government, one law, one written language, one system of weights & measurements, and one type of moral and political thinking (i.e.—one ideology).

Private teaching, free thought, and public & even private criticism of the government were prohibited by most drastic measures. Books were burned; and private possession of books of a previous age was punishable by heavy penalties.

There was to be an everlasting monarchical empire on this new model. There was to be ever-lasting peace.

The only worry of the Emperor was that he might not live long enough to place the empire on a lasting foundation.

So he welcomed all forms of occultism, out of which there might come some efficacious "Method" to prolong his life.

But nothing could prolong his life. He died in 210 B.C., at the age of 49 years!

Within a year after his death, revolutions were started in the South, and spread rapidly all over the empire.

The First Emperor failed to suppress one of the most dangerous ideas which was not consciously taught by the philosophers, but which was deeply engraved on the hearts of man; the idea of "nationalism,"—which was best expressed in a "war-cry" of the people of Ch'u (楚): "Even though reduced to 3 families, Ch'u will yet surely exterminate Ch'in."

It was from the remnants of Ch'u that the first Revolutionary leaders came.

The 2 great leaders—Hsiang Yü and Liu Pang—were men of Ch'u; the former of aristocratic origin & the latter a commoner.

3 years after his death, the Dynasty surrendered to the Revolution and the great Ch'in Empire ended.

After 8 years of revolution and wars among the rival leaders of the Revolution, Liu Pang succeeded in conquering all other rivals and was proclaimed Emperor in 202 B.C.

He became the founder of the Han (汉) Dynasty which lasted practically 422 years.

Civil wars did not end until 195 B.C.

The long wars had devastated the country and the new dynasty found the empire in ruins.

Rice sometimes cost 5,000 cash a hundred weight. The Imperial Government had to issue a decree permitting the people to sell their children and migrate to the western provinces for their subsistence.

> "The Imperial Court was so poor that it could not obtain 4 horses of the same color [for] the Emperor's carriage, and the ministers & generals had often to ride in ox-carts."

But, in the course of about 70 years, the empire became very prosperous and the government was in a position to undertake great military campaigns against the Hiung-nu.

A contemporary testimony described the state of prosperity in these words:

> "About seventy years after the founding of the empire, the country was at peace. With exception of the few years of floods & drought, the people had plenty to live on; the granaries all over the country were full of grains; and the Imperial Treasury always had surplus money. Millions upon millions of coins had accumulated at the Capital City, so long lying idle that the strings tying them together were rotting away. The grains in the Imperial Granaries were literally overflowing and had to be stored uncovered, with the consequences that the grains became rotten and uneatable.
>
> "The common people became wealthy and owned horses, of which there were plenty. Those who rode on mares or young colts were laughed at in society.
>
> "Gate-keepers lived on fine food & meat. Petty officers held office long enough to see their grandchildren grow up, and often named their families after their offices.
>
> "Everybody had self-respect and regarded any breach of the law as a very grave matter."

That was a tremendous change brought about in 70 years.

What had been done to achieve that state of general plenty & prosperity?

Contemporary testimony said that it was the result of a conscious policy of non-interference, of laissez-faire, of *wu-wei*.

This negative policy of the government was not merely a reaction against the over-active & ever-interfering policy of the Ch'in Empire.

There was some conscious attempt to practice the philosophy of doing-nothing as the most desirable & most effective way of governing a very large empire in those days.

The empire-builders of Han had learned from the melodramatic failures of the Ch'in empire. They had learned that to govern a very large empire of heterogeneous & discordant peoples & races was no easy matter.

The most important thing was to do very little, but to let the people live in peace long enough to recuperate from the wars, & to appreciate the benefits of a unified empire.

The policy was, therefore, "not to disturb the people": to let them alone,—to do nothing.

In the very first years of the empire, Ts'ao Ts'an (d. 190 B.C.), one of the great generals, was appointed Governor (Minister to the Prince) of Ch'i. He found the populace very unruly. But he soon learned that there lived in that area a philosopher by the name of Kai Kung (盖公). The Governor sought his advice. Kai Kung told him of the philosophy of *wu-wei* which pleased Ts'ao Ts'an so much that he not only successfully practiced it in Ch'i, but continued to practice it when in 193 B.C. he was recalled to be the Prime Minister of the Empire.

It was said of him that the Prime Minister was drunk most of the time and attended to little official business. When his subordinates came to talk policy & reforms, he would make them drunk to intoxication so that they would go away without a chance to present their new proposals.

That was one of the conscious practitioners of *wu-wei*.

The third Emperor, Wen Ti (199-157 B.C.), and his wife, the Empress Tou (窦) (died 135 B.C.) were other conscious followers of this political philosophy.

The Empress who came from lowliness & poverty, & who held power for 40 years, made it a rigid requirement of the members of the Imperial household and her own family to study the *Book of Lao Tzu*.

On many occasions she deliberately suppressed the reformers of the Confucianist School.

During those decades,—180-135 B.C.—Taoism became the most prominent school of thought in the Empire. It not only had the patronage of the Empress-Dowager, but also that of the Prince of Huai-nan, a nephew of Wen Ti, and one of the most powerful princes of blood in the empire (164-122 B.C.).

The *Book of the Prince of Huai-nan* (completed almost 140 B.C.) remains to this day the greatest cyclopaedia of the Taoist philosophy.

"Taoism" is a new term that first came into use during the 2nd century B.C.

It was never used before 200 B.C.

It designates that great eclectic system which was being formed in those decades and which attempted to embrace all the good things of the philosophical speculations of a previous age, with its central emphasis, however, on the naturalistic philosophy of Lao Tzu. Hence the name "Taoism."

It was also called "The School of Huang-Lao," that is, of Huang-Ti and Lao Tzu.

Lao Tzu was too brief a work to serve as the rallying point of all schools.

Hence the necessity of inventing a great name to father all the miscellaneous & incongruous ideas & beliefs which that age wished to include in that great eclectic scheme.

So every kind of thought, belief, science and pseudo-science, came to be attributed to the great Huang Ti (Yellow Emperor).

The bibliographical section of the *Han Shu* (*History of Han*) which was based upon an earlier bibliography compiled in the 1st century B.C., contains twelve classes of works under the name of Huang Ti, totaling more than 400 Books!

Taoist	78 卷
Yin-yang	20
Stories	40
War & Strategy	16
Astrology	33
Astronomy	33
Five Elements (五行)	50
Divinations	11
Medicine	57
Medical prescriptions	27
Sex (房中)	20
Shen-hsien (神仙)	61
	424 卷

This period produced

1. The *Book of the Prince of Huai-nan* (《淮南子》):

(1) 内篇 (Existing)

(2) 外篇 (Alchemical) (Lost)

2. Hundreds of works attributed to Huang Ti (黄帝) and his contemporaries

司马谈 (Szu-ma T'an) (d. c. 110 B.C.)

《论六家要指》 (showing its eclectic nature) also showing its emphasis on *wu-wei* (无为)

Szu-ma Ch'ien, in the 129th Bk. of his *History*, described the rise of a capitalist class in the 2nd century B.C.

1. Large scale farming
2. Traveling salesmanship
3. Oil (Fats) Trade
4. Bean-curd (卖浆?)
5. Metal-working
6. Preserved meat
7. Horse-doctoring (马医)
8. Gambling Houses (1)
9. Grave-digging (1)

Szu-ma Ch'ien attributed this prosperity to the unification of the empire, long peace, abolition of governmental monopolies on natural resources, abolition of taxes on internal commerce, and the great ease in the circulation of goods.

He justified the rise of this mercantile class on Taoist grounds.

"Love of Wealth is a desire instinctive in all men. And trade and commerce are just as natural & useful as farming and mining. They all conform to the natural working of the Tao. (道之所符而自然之验)

"Agriculture feeds the people. Mining (including the salt-maker) unearths the resources of nature. Industry produces the goods for use. And commerce circulates the goods among men.

"Has there been any need of governmental order & contract for all these? [None.] Men only rely upon their own abilities, make full use of their own strength and intellect, and thereby achieve satisfaction of their desires."

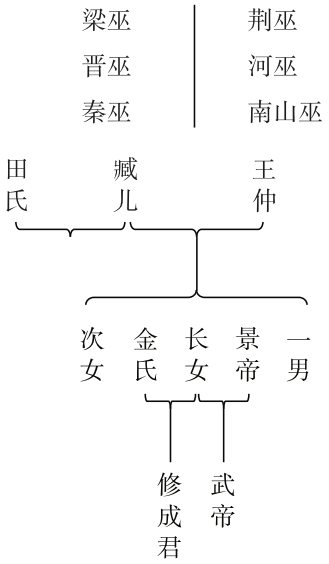
1. Popular Superstitions cherished by the people and their "leaders" and "rulers."

The Eight Gods of Ch'i
(1) The Lord of Heaven (天主) (天齐)
(2) The Lord of Earth
(3) The Lord of War (兵主)
(4) The Lord of *Yin* (阴主)
(5) The Lord of *Yang* (阳主)
(6) The Lord of Moon
(7) The Lord of Sun
(8) The Lord of the Seasons (四时主)

The Imperial Pantheon of the Ch'in Empire:
(I) The Mountains
(II) The Rivers
(III) The Sun, the Moon, the Planets & the Stars
(IV) The Popular Gods
(V) The Four Supreme Gods:
The White God (West)
The Black God (East)
The Red God (South)
The Yellow God (Center)
(VI) The Ch'en Pao (陈宝)
(VII) The Secret Worships (秘视)

The Quest for the "Elixir of Life"
(1) Yen (燕昭王)
(2) Ch'i (齐威王，宣王)
(3) Ch'in (秦始皇)
卢生，韩众，石生，侯公，徐市

Ch'ang-an (长安) as the New Capital for all Tribal & Local Religions (202 B.C.)



汉武帝 (140-87 B.C.)

(1) The Worship of the Divine Oracle (神君) (Ventriloquist)

She was invited to the Palace and worshipped with great pomposity & solemnity.

(2) Luan Ta (栾大) (113-112 B.C.)

五利将军
①黄金
②河决可塞
③不死之药
④仙人可致
⑤匈奴可平 (?)

In a little over a month, he was given 5 generalships, 1 earldom and the emperor's daughter for wife!

五利将军
天士将军
地士将军
大通将军
(天道将军) ═══ 导 Guide to Heaven
柴通侯
卫长公主妻之

Imperial Patronage of Occultism: (Magic, Alchemy, Witchcraft, Necromancy, etc.)

1. Inheritance from the Ch'in Empire

Example: the worship of Ch'en Pao (陈宝)—p. 29

2. The popular superstitions brought to the Court by the Court Ladies of lowly origin.

The Empress Tou was a very great exception. But even her husband, the great Wen Ti, was sometimes weakened & duped by some clever magicians, such as Hsin-yuan Ping, who, in 164 B.C., told the Emperor that on a certain day, the Sun after reaching the meridian, would recede and return to mid-day again. And he did see it so happen!

So the Emperor decreed that in response to this wonderful omen of rejuvenation from Heaven, the next year, the 17th, should be re-numbered "the First Year," thereby inaugurating that terrible system of the emperors designating every few years by a new propitious name—to the infinite trouble of his later historians & students of oriental history!

But the Emperor was great enough to repent his credulity in 163 B.C.

The greatest patron of all forms of occultism was Wu Ti (140-87 B.C.).

He was only a young boy when he came to the throne. He was son of a woman of lowly origin, and was apparently early under the influence of the superstitions of his mother & his maternal grand-mother.

His extravagant patronage of occultism had the effect of giving great impetus to all forms of superstitions and of setting the fashion of the empire under his long reign (53 yrs.).

When in 110 B.C. the emperor arrived on the coast of Ch'i to worship the Eight Great Gods of that region, there were at least 10,000 persons who requested to have an opportunity to try out in the Emperor's presence their new "Methods" of worship and alchemy!

The age had gone crazy under this Imperial leadership!

Wu Ti

1. The Story of 神君 (the Oracular Goddess) of Ch'ang-an (pp. 31-32)
2. The Story of Luan Ta (栾大) pp. 32-33
3. The Tragic Case of Persecution of Wu-ku (巫蛊) in 91 B.C.

The Tragic Persecution of Witchcraft (巫蛊) in 91 B.C. cost the life of

2 Prime ministers
1 Empress (Wei)
1 son
2 grandsons
2 daughters & 数万人(!)

The Tragedy of the Case of Witchcraft Persecution (91 B.C.)

The belief in various forms of "exorcism" and "witchery" was common in ancient China.

It was believed to have the effect of driving away evil spirits, curing disease, etc.

It was also believed to have the positive effect of causing one's wishes to be fulfilled.

In 104 B.C., the Emperor employed a number of magicians to use their "method" to sacrifice & play for the purpose of causing the weakening & downfall of the enemy

countries such as Hiung-nu & Ta-wan!

In the year 130 B.C., when the Emperor was only 26, there was a domestic quarrel between him & his Empress. He had fallen in love with a dancer and was keeping aloof from his first Empress.

The Empress was alleged to have resorted to sorcery & witchery in the hope of causing the death of the dancer and winning back the young emperor's lost love.

The case was exposed and drastic prosecution resulted in the confession of the witches that they had performed the black art at the request of the Empress. Over 300 people were put to death.

The Empress was deposed and banished.

But 40 years later (91 B.C.), another & more tragic case took place and caused the lives of several tens of thousands of people.

The Emperor was old and sick. He suspected that his illness was due to witchery.

His most powerful favorite minister was Chiang Ch'ung who was not on good terms with the Heir-Apparent. He feared that, after the death of the aged Emperor, the young monarch would surely get rid of him or even kill him.

So Chiang Ch'ung reported to the Emperor that he was sure his illness was due to the black art and that he could trace it by a thorough search.

He was commissioned to search for the guilty sorcerers. After searching everywhere, Chiang reported that there were signs (气) of witchcraft in the palaces. So he was authorized to search the palaces including the palace where the Imperial Heir-Apparent lived.

He dug into the ground of the Heir-Apparent's palace, and found buried underground wooden effigies which were commonly used by witches for purposes of exorcism.

At that time, the old Emperor was resting at his Summer Palace at Kan Ch'üan. Only the Empress & the Heir-Apparent were at the Capital.

Knowing the credulity of his Father, the Heir-Apparent saw that there was no effective way of clearing himself of the evidences of witchery which had apparently been planted there by his enemy.

So the Empress & her son decided to act. They arrested Chiang Ch'ung & his search party in the name of the Emperor. Chiang was beheaded and the Barbarian Witch who had served as a false witness was burned alive.

The Emperor on his sick-bed thought his son had started a rebellion against him. He ordered armies to suppress the Rebellion. The palace guards under the Heir-App. attempted to defend the palaces. The battle lasted 5 days. Tens of thousands of people were killed.

The Heir and his two sons lost their lives. The Empress—the dancer who became Empress—committed suicide. Her whole family perished.

Gradually the old emperor realized the innocence of his son and regretted it to the end of his life. It was too late! He died a few years later.

Witchcraft altogether cost the lives of his 2 Empresses, 1 son, 2 daughters, 2 grandsons, 2 prime ministers, and many thousands of innocent citizens!

Szu-ma Ch'ien (c. 145?-c. 87? B.C.), the great historian, was eye-witness to all this occultism under imperial patronage.

He devoted his 28th Book of his *History* to the recording of the religious worship, sacrifices, astrology, magic, etc. from earliest ages down, but in particular, those of his own time under his own Emperor.

Pan Ku in the 18th century A.D. continued this treatment and devoted a more lengthy Book (Bk. XXV) to it.

(I) Thinly Systematized Politico-religious Thoughts & Beliefs: The Cults:

1. The Mo Religion
(1) Theism
(2) Theocratic State
(3) An All-love God
(4) Simple Living (Asceticism)
(5) Simplified Funeral & Burial

(II)

2. The Alchemists and the *Shen-hsien* Cult

The Alchemists in a sense were also naturalists. Their aim was to seek "the elixir of life": that is, to seek to prolong physical life by such physical means as activating medicinal herbs and mushrooms and experimenting on minerals and metals in the hope of obtaining efficacious drugs for the preservation of life.

Their objective was the achievement of "immortality" in the sense of infinite prolongation of this physical life.

But they also resorted to other occult "methods" of worship and sacrifice.

Because every one of these alchemists had "methods" or "prescriptions" to offer, they were collectively called "Prescriptionists" "方士".

Their ideal or objective was to attain the state of a "真人" (*Chên jen*) "the Real Man" or "仙人" (*Hsien jen*) "the Immortal man" (or *Shen-hsien*, immortal spirit).

"The *Chên jen* can enter the water without getting wet, and can enter a fire without being burned. He rides on the clouds, and lives a life as everlasting as Heaven & Earth."

Because these alchemists aimed at becoming a *Shen-hsien*, they were also called the "*Shen-hsien* School" (神仙家).

Note that even these seekers of Immortality had no conception of Heaven as Paradise, nor of Hell as the place of Last Judgment.

This means that Indian thought & belief had not yet come into contact with the Chinese people.

The Credulous Rulers
King Chao of Yen—
King Wei of Ch'i—
King Hsüan of Ch'i—
The First Emperor of Ch'in
His Son (The Second Emperor)

梦白虎啮其左骖马，杀之。……问占梦。卜曰，泾水为祟。二世乃斋于望夷宫，欲祠泾，沉四白马。

Even the great Wen Ti (179-157 B.C.) was swindled by 新垣平 (163 B.C.).

Ancestor Worship and its Cost!

Imperial Ancestors' Temples in the Capital & in the places where they had been,—totaling 197 in about 50 B.C.

Daily (日祭于寝)—4 offerings of food every day!

Monthly (月祭于庙)

Seasonal (时祭于便殿)

In a year,

24,455 offerings of food

Using 45,129 guards, 12,147 priests & musicians & cooks

Not counting the vast number of persons required to keep the sacrificial animals!

The First Steps in the Purification of the State Religion

40 B.C. to 30 B.C.

Wei Hsüan-ch'eng (韦玄成)

K'uang Heng (匡衡)

1. Abolished the Provincial Temples of the Imp. ancestors.
2. Reduced the number of Imp. Ancestor worships.
3. Worked out a system of "Progressive Promotion" of ancestors. (定迭毁之序)
4. Abolished a number of the altars of Heaven &c. Of the 683 altars, 475 were abolished.

Ai Ti (6-1 B.C.)

700 altars, requiring 37,000 worships in a year

Wang Mang (1A.D.-8-23)

1700 altars & temples, using 3000 animals for sacrifices

后不能备，乃以鸡当鸳雁，犬当麋鹿！

Han Thought ③

The Establishment of Confucianism as the Official System of Teaching, which is the same thing as the State Religion (*Chiao*)

The 3 Great Leaders:

1. Emperor Wu Ti (140-87 B.C.)
2. Kung-sun Hung (200-121 B.C.)

In power—126-121 B.C.;
Premier—124-121 B.C.

3. Tung Chung-shu (died c. 123 B.C.?)

(1) Gave precedence to Confucian Teaching over all other Schools of Thought. (140 B.C.)

(2) Founding of an exclusively Confucianist College of Doctors (136 B.C.)

(3) 公孙弘 the first Confucianist scholar to become Prime Minister (124 B.C.)

(4) Founding of the Imperial University (124 B.C.) by giving 50 students to the College of Doctors

(5) Founding of the Civil Service Examination System (124 B.C.)

[Previous to that, there had been occasional decrees inviting recommendations of talented & learned men to the throne (164 B.C.-15th yr. of Wen Ti). When those recommended (举) men arrived at the Capital, the Emperor (from 164 B.C. down) usually asked them a set of questions which they were to answer in written form. Kung-sun Hung & Tung Chung-shu were all products of that system.]

But, while Kung-sun Hung was the practical statesman who, in his brief career as Prime Minister, placed Confucianism on the solid foundation by making it the source of a state system of education & civil service, the great philosopher who gave to this State Confucianism a new meaning & content—a new theology & philosophy—was Tung Chung-shu (died about 124 B.C.).

He was a Confucianist who had apparently been under the influence of the theistic religion of Mo Ti.

He believed in a personal God who knows & has the power to reward & punish, & whose Will (意) is that Men must love one another.

All these are tenets of the Moist Religion.

Tung Chung-shu concerned himself with many of the grave problems of the time:

1. The New Feudal States
2. The Heavy Burden of Taxation
3. The Rising Power of the Rich Merchants & Nobles
4. Slavery
5. Unequal Distribution of Land

He advocated:

1. Curbing the Nobles & Feudal States
2. Reduction of Taxes
3. Abolition of Slavery
4. Limitation of Land-ownership

The content of Han Confucianism

1. Belief in a personal God or Heaven
2. Belief in other gods & spirits
3. Belief in Retribution of good & evil

4. Belief that there is a reciprocal relationship between Heaven & Man, evil deeds tending to bring forth warnings and even wrathful catastrophes from Heaven

5. Belief in the possibility of men interpreting the signs of Heaven & appeasing the wrath of God by repenting & reforms

6. Belief in astrology and another "science" of interpreting the meaning of the heavenly phenomena in relation to human & political action

Tung Chung-shu worked out a "theology" and a "methodology."

"天人感应" (感) affect, influence
(应) response
"灾异之学" (p. 37)

"人之所为，其美恶之极，皆与天地流通而往来相应。"

"The action of man, when it attains its highest level of goodness or evil, always flows into the course of Heaven & Earth, and causes reciprocal (responsive) reverberations in their manifestations."

The Objective (Hidden Purpose) of Han Confucianism:

"The *Ch'un Ch'iu*, teaches the subjection of the people to the ruler and the subjection of the ruler to God." "以民随君，以君随天。" (cf. 尚同 of Moists) (Read—p. 40—2nd paragraph.)

The welfare of the people was considered the chief concern of God whose Will (天意) was always to love & benefit the people. His love & concern were manifested in the "warnings" to the rulers on earth.

These "warnings" were to be in 2 main types:

1. Catastrophes (Disasters) (灾) (*tsai*)
2. Anomalies (异) (*yi*)

The Method of interpretation: historical analogy based on comparing events of the present with those "similar" or "analogous" events as recorded in the *Ch'un Ch'iu* [which recorded the events of 241 years—721-480 B.C.—together with recordings of many catastrophes and unusual phenomena in nature such as great fires (灾) and eclipses of the sun (异).]

[There were 36 sun-eclipses recorded in the *C.C.*, which were "comparable" to the 53 sun-eclipses in the 212 years of Former Han.]

1. First, find out the meaning (B) of Heaven in a particular "warning" in the *C.C.* (A)

"A→B"

2. Second, establish that a particular "warning" of the present (a) is analogous to its counterpart in the *C.C.*

a : A

3. Third, then infer the meaning of "a" by analogy:

A:a :: B:b

There was a fire in 135 B.C. which destroyed the Founder's Temple at Liao-tung (a), and another fire two months later which destroyed a Palace in the Founder's

Temple at Chang-an. (a')

Tung said: It was analogous to the fire in 491 B.C. which destroyed the Temple of Duke Huan & Duke Hsi (A).

He then pointed out that the ancient event meant that God wished "to burn & destroy the most honored but most unrighteous" 燔贵而去不义 (B) which, at the time of Confucius, was the powerful family of Chi (季) (B), which, in 135 B.C., meant the Prince of Huai-nan, the uncle of the Emperor (b).

Huai-nan Wang was then very powerful. So Tung was accused of high treason and sentenced to death, but was later pardoned.

But the Prince of Huai-nan was finally overthrown in 123-122 B.C., and Tung was posthumously vindicated. And his interpretation of the Fire of 135 B.C. came to be regarded as the methodological model for the interpretation of catastrophes & anomalies.

A whole Science grew up in the next century: it was called 灾异之学.

Besides this method of Historical Analogy, there was also a Deductive approach consisting of a number of general formulae which could be applied to particular cases.

A Book in the *Shu Ching* entitled *Hung Fan* ("the Great Plan") which was probably a work by some Confucianist scholar of fairly early date, probably of the 4th century B.C.,—was used as a text and many commentaries were written on it. In these commentaries, numerous generalizations were laid down for the interpretation of disasters & anomalies, which were grouped according to the Five Elements.

Example:

1. "When laws are discarded,
   When faithful & meritous ministers are banished,
   When the Heir-apparent is unjustly killed,
   Or when a concubine is made a wife,—
   Then there will come disasters or anomalies of the Fire group."
2. "When the Ancestral Temples are neglected,
   When sacrifices are discontinued,
   Or when governmental policy is contrary to the natural order of the seasons and months,
   Then there will occur disasters & anomalies of the Water group."

Water (Floods)
Fire (Fires)
Wood
Metal (Stone & metal)
Earth (Famine, Loss of crops) 稼穡

Sun eclipses (*yin* conquers *yang*)

Ch'un Ch'iu	(242 yrs)	36日食
Han	(212 yrs)	53日食

Pan Ku devoted the longest Book in his *History of Han* to this *Science of the Five Elements*. (《五行志》, Book 27).

(This Bk. is over 50,000 words in length!)

Szu-ma Ch'ien's *History* has 8 "Topical Books":
Bk. IV.—历 (26)
Bk. V. —天官 (27)
Bk. VI.—封禅 (28)

Pan Ku's *History of Han* has 10 Topical Books:

XXI	① 律历	(Astronomy)
XXV	⑤ 郊祀	
XXVI	⑥ 天文	(Astrology)
XXVII	⑦ 五行	

Effect of Est. of Coup.
1. Founding of the Framework of Civilian government
2. Estab. of a Canon of Sacred Scripture which had the force of "Basic Law" or "Constitution"
3. The setting up of a Power higher than the monarch as a check over misrule
4. Furnishing plenty occasion for outspoken admonition to the rulers (康熙帝日食诏)

1. The Science of 灾异 Catastrophes & Anomalies
2. The *wei* (纬), the Apocrypha, ("the woof" as distinct from the *ching*, "the warp")

36 groups of *wei*:

易 6	乐	3
书 5	孝经	3
诗 3	春秋	13
礼 3		19
17		36

The 纬 Books were store-houses of the new knowledge of the time, some part of it being scientific, other part pseudo-scientific.
Geographical knowledge
Astronomical knowledge
Astrological knowledge
Anatomical knowledge
Medical knowledge
Divinational knowledge
Occult knowledge

The Two Great Systems of Eclecticism

1. The School of "Tao" or Huang-Lao,—which was producing a vast amount of literature attributed to the authorship of the Yellow Emperor & his associates

2. The School of "*Ju*" or of Confucius—which, too, was producing a vast amount of literature ① in the form of forged *ching* (经) and ② in the form of *wei* (纬)

In 7 B.C., it was proposed by the Confucianists in power:
(1) Limitation of land-owning to 3000 *mu* (500 acres)
(2) Limiting the number of slaves:
A Prince—200
A Princess—100
Others—30
(3) Curbing of merchants who were to be deprived of owning land and of becoming officials

Wang Mang (died 23 A.D.) in power from 1 A.D. on, became Emperor in 9 A.D.
In 9 A.D., he proclaimed the great reforms:
(1) Nationalization of land
(2) Abolition of slavery, making it a crime to sell & buy human beings as slaves
(3) Re-distribution of land, but not to be sold or bought
(Land owning limited to 100 *mu* per male adult, and 800 to a family of 8 males)
In 10 & 17, he established the famous "Six Controls"—六筦：
(1) Salt
(2) Wine
(3) Iron
(4) Natural Resources (Forest & etc.)
(5) Money & Coinage
(6) Lending & Price Control
The last item is most comprehensive; it included:
(1) Price Index (Mean Price)
(2) Public Purchase of Surplus Produce
(3) Balancing the Market by Sale of Cornered Goods
(4) Lending to the Needy without Interest
(5) Loan of Capital to the Producer

Wang Mang won tremendous popularity among the people by his many acts of benevolence & lavish munificence.

He gave vast amount of money & land for the relief of the poor.

He enlarged the University Faculties and built new dormitories for 10,000 students.

He summoned thousands of scholars & experts in various fields to the Capital and held conferences & discussion meetings in the Palaces.

He was so popular that 487,572 people petitioned the Throne that Wang Mang should be given the highest honors of the Empire.

Enterprising politicians began to "discover" or "invent" "Heavenly Omens" or "Divine Mandates" (符命) in favor of Wang Mang being made Emperor.

In 6 A.D., there was found, in a well in 武功, a white stone with red inscription

which read:

"Tell the Duke Wang Mang to be the Emperor."

So he proclaimed himself the "Acting Emperor"—acting for the baby emperor who was in his second year.

In year 8 A.D., more & more "mandates" came from Heaven:

One night, a young man, wearing a yellow robe and carrying two copper (bronze) boxes, appeared at the gate of the Temple of the Founder of the Han Dynasty, and gave to the Keeper the 2 boxes in the name of the Founder of the Dynasty. In the boxes were found a decree from the Heavenly Emperor, and a decree signed by the "Red Emperor" Liu Pang, handing over the Empire to the "Yellow Emperor" Wang Mang!

On the strength of such "authentic" decrees from Heaven & even from the Founding Father of the Han Empire, Wang Mang shed many tears and obeyed the Will of the gods.

He became "Real Emperor" in 9 A.D. and called his Dynasty the "New" "新."

The Development of Scientific Knowledge

Astronomy

The discrepancies in the calendar became apparent in the early decades of the Dynasty.

The Calendar Reform Commission of 104 B.C. included a number of mathematicians & astronomers of the time.

A New Calendar was made in 104 B.C., it was called the T'ai-Ch'u Calendar (太初历).

They found that the real lunar month was 29 days and $\frac{43}{81}$; and the solar year was $365\frac{385}{1539}$ (which is more than $\frac{1}{4}$).

And they found that there would be one more eclipse in every $5\frac{20}{23}$ months.

But the new calendar was under severe attack by its opponents for many years. The controversy lasted from 104 to 75 B.C. It took 30 years of discussion & observational checking before it was finally settled.

The method adopted by the government in settling the controversy was to give all rival astronomers an equal opportunity to make observations, calculations & predictions and then have them tested by the accuracy in their respective results.

11 schools took part in the observations & tests from 78 to the end of 75 B.C. In every case, the New Calendar of 104 B.C. achieved the best result in accuracy.

The opposition was silenced and the New Calendar was in use for over a century.

In the 1st century A.D., the calendar began to show discrepancies with actual observations. Predicted eclipses of the moon, New moon, etc. began to lag behind actual observation by one day.

By 62 A.D., a group of new astronomers began to advocate a new calendar based on the new calculation of the solar year at $365\frac{1}{4}$, which, of course, is a return to one of the oldest formulas, but which happened to be slightly more accurate than the fraction used for the calendar of 104 B.C.

A new calendar was worked out on this basis, and was officially adopted in 85 A.D.

Again there was much opposition to the New Calendar (62-85 A.D.).

The government used the same method of actual observational tests to satisfy all opposition.

But opposition came up from time to time even long after 85 A.D. (123; 143; & 172)

In 175 A.D. the great mathematician Liu Hung proposed a calculation of the solar year at $365\frac{145}{589}$ which is .004 less than$[365]\frac{1}{4}$ (5 hours & 54 minutes).

The real solar year is 365 days, 5 hrs., 48 minutes, 45.51 seconds.

The 2nd century astronomer Liu Hung 刘洪 who was the author of the 乾象历 (adopted later in the Southern Kingdom of Wu), was noted for his accuracy in calculating & predicting sun-eclipse.

By the third century, sun-eclipses were fairly accurately calculated.

Medicine

The *Han Shu* catalogue of books contains:

Medical Classics (医经) 216 *chüan*

Medical Prescriptions (经方) 274 *chüan*

Several of the works have remained classics for many centuries to come.

Mention was made on several occasions of 本草 Materia Medica. Experts in this branch of study were summoned by the government for the purpose of compiling descriptive catalogues of medicinal herbs & minerals.

The *History* by Szu-ma Ch'ien includes a lengthy biography of Ch'un-yü Yi (淳于意) (Born 205 B.C.).

Wang Mang's biography mentions the fact that he ordered his Court Physicians to dissect dead prisoners of war and study the anatomy and the circulation of blood by using fine bamboo sticks to trace the course of the blood veins. He said that such a study would benefit the science of medicine.

Other Aspects of Scientific Development

Alchemy in many phases seemed to be developed during the centuries of imperial patronage of occultism.

Metal working came to be profited by this science, even though the alchemists failed to find the elixir of life.

The study of magnetism was often mentioned in the literature of the time.

The attractive power and the directive power of magnet were both well-known.

The magnet needle for direction was clearly mentioned by Wang Ch'ung in the 1st century A.D.

Wang Mang, the patron of learning, tried to encourage the art of aviation. Under his reign, a prize was offered for the first man who could invent a flying machine. The first flier who submitted a bird-shaped flying machine, was a failure. But Wang Mang awarded him the prize, saying: "I wish to give encourage to those who would follow him in the same pursuit."

Liu Hsiang (刘向) (77 B.C.-6 B.C.)
Liu Hsin (刘歆) (d. 23 A.D.)
Yang Shiung (扬雄) (53 B.C. -18 A.D.)
Huan Tan(桓谭) (d. 56 A.D.)
Pan Piao (班彪) (d. 54 A.D.)
Chia Kw'ei (贾逵) (30-101 A.D.)
Chang Hêng (张衡) (78-139 A.D.)

Wang Ch'ung was one of the greatest & most courageous thinkers that China or any country has ever produced.

And remember that he lived nearly 19 centuries ago!

He and his critical attitude fought against the first period of Chinese medievalism and founded a brief era of Intellectual Reformation.

Unfortunately, it was only a very brief era in which the spirit of doubt & criticism and the revival of naturalism sought to undermine & dethrone the superstitions & the occultisms of the age.

But even as Wang Ch'ung was writing, a great force of darkness and unreason was invading China from India.

光和元年七月十日 (178 A.D.)
诏召杨赐、马日磾、张华、蔡邕、单颺。
Yang Tsu, Ma Jih-ti, Chang Hua, Tsai Jung & Shan Yang

Tsai Jung (133-192) left a record describing the palace scene and giving in detail the questions & his own answers (*Works*, Bk. 6).

Some of the questions:

1. A column of black cloud or vapor touching a Palace, its appearance resembling a dragon and a kind of rainbow
2. Report that a hen was becoming a cock
3. Moon-eclipse
   Earthquake
   Epidemics
   Windstorm
   Overflow of the Rivers
   } all within the last few years

4. Strange phenomena among the stars; Mars changing color & course!
5. Locusts appearing in winter
6. City-wall & walls of Imperial armory falling down

In a confidential report, Tsai said: "In my humble opinion, all these anomalies are signs pointing to the downfall of the Empire(亡国之怪也). God still continues to be solicitously kind to the Great Han: that is why God gives frequent warnings in the form of anomalies. These abnormal phenomena are to be regarded as reprimands from Heaven in order that the Rulers on earth might wake up & repent. Repentance may yet transform danger into security, and disaster into good fortune. If the Mandate of Heaven had already shifted, there would have been no such warnings from Heaven. Thus, during the last period of the Ch'un Ch'iu era, the Chou Dynasty had already been abandoned by Heaven, so there were full decades without a single eclipse of the Sun being recorded!"

Wang Ch'ung (27-c. 100) came from a lowly family in modern Shaoshing, in Chekiang, studied at the university, and under the scholar Pan Piao, father of Pan Ku.

Served as assistant in his home district, and in 86-88 was Secretary to the Prefect of Yangchow.

Wrote

1. A book on morals (in the simple popular language)
2. A book on government (政务)
3. *Lun Hêng* (Essays in Criticism) 85 chaps.
4. A book on how to preserve health (养性书)

These essays were written at various times—from 60 A.D. to about 90 A.D.—the period of astronomical controversy. [Book 50 (30) says this essay was written about 60 A.D. but it mentions the posthumous title of the Emperor Chang Ti who died in 88 A.D.] (Numbers in brackets indicate the number of chapters translated by Forke.)

Confucius said: One line may sum up the 300 poems in the *Book of Songs*,—"Think no evil thoughts." The scores of books in the *Lun Hêng* can also be summed up in one sentence: "It hates Untruth" "疾虚妄." (61)

In his autobiography, he tells us that he wrote the *Lun Hêng* because he was moved by the fact that many spurious books and current writings contained so many falsehoods.

In his self-defense, he said:

> "The writing of *Lun Hêng* was caused by the fact that many books were full of untruth and that false ideas were triumphing over the true and the good.
>
> "The *Lun Hêng* serves as a weighing scale of the grave & the light stuff, and seeks to set up a standard of truth & falsehood.
>
> "The *Lun Hêng* takes up the current books and seeks to discriminate between the authentic & the spurious, the true from the false...."

He gives these examples:

1. "When Kung Kung (共工) was defeated in battle, he was so angry that he struck his head against the Puchow Mountains (不周之山) and caused the pillars of Heaven to break down and the Ridge of Earth to crack up."

2. "At the time of Yao, ten suns came out simultaneously. And Yao shot down 9 of them."

3. "When Lu Yang saw the sun going down in the midst of a battle, he shook his spear at the sun and the sun came up again."

Wang Ch'ung said: "Such is the type of books in circulation today! Falsehood & forgery have overwhelmed and submerged truth and reality. My blood boils, my hand and my pen tremble and stir. How can I refrain from criticizing these matters!"

The 85 Essays of the *Lun Hêng* can be grouped under these headings:

1. His Fundamental Philosophy
(1) On the Course of Nature 物势 (14) ④
(2) On Nature 自然 (54) ③
(3) On Human Nature (13) (8)
(4) On Determinism (1-7) (10) (12)
2. Physical Problems
(1) On Heaven (31)
(2) On the Sun (32)
(3) On Thunder (23)
(4) On Death and Ghosts (62, 63, 65)
3. Against the Reciprocal & Responsive Relationship between Heaven & Man (41⑤, 42⑥, 43) (55) & others (17) (18) (19)
4. On Sacrifice & Worship (76-77)
5. Criticism of Popular Beliefs & Practices (17-23) (64-75)
6. Criticism of Traditional Standard Works
(1) Exaggerations (增) (25-27)
(2) Falsehoods (虚) (16-24)
(3) Great Men (问孔, 非韩, 刺孟)
7. Autobiography
(1) Autobiography (85)
(2) Self-defense (84)
Practically all of these are "criticisms" (衡，——论之平也) of his own time.

His Method of Criticism

"In these Essays, I seek to examine everything by thinking, and test everything by facts. (考之以心，效之以事。) Against all uncertain and untrue

statements, I seek to prove their falsehood by means of tests and evidences. 浮虛之事，辄立证验。”

Yang Shiung (d. 18 A.D.) had said (Bk. V):

> “The words of the Gentleman [can be proven]. Words about the unknown must be proven or tested (验) in the known. …To say anything without proof (验, *lien* or *yen*) is foolish (妄).”

To prove that the ancient sages, even Confucius, possessed no knowledge of the future, he submitted 16 proofs! (79)

To prove that Thunder is not the wrath of Heaven (天怒), but a natural force (*ch'i*) of the great *yang* (Sun) which, when in friction with the *yin* force, becomes fire (火) and burns objects that come in its path, —to prove this thesis, Wang proposed 5 proofs.

“That thunder is fire,” said he, “can be demonstrated by 5 proofs; but there is not a single evidence to show that thunder is the wrath of Heaven.”

To refute the existence of ghosts & spirits, & to show that all so-called ghosts were creations of the human mind, Wang Ch'ung said:

> “If it is true that the ghost is the spirit or soul of the dead man, then, the ghost should appear to men in naked form, without any garments on his body. Why? For surely his garments have no soul and cannot survive physical decomposition. Granting the possibility of the human spirit surviving death, how can we explain that silk & fabrics still assume the shape of human garments when ‘seen’ on the body of ghosts?
>
> “Shall we not say, then, that the bodily forms of ghosts are about as real as their garments? They may appear like so-and-so, but are in reality not the spirits of the dead ones.” ⑥② ①⑤

To refute the whole philosophy or theology of Han Confucianism based upon the responsive reaction between government action & the heavenly phenomena, Wang Ch'ung said:

> “Heaven is very high and immense, and man is very tiny. It is extremely hopeless for man with his little frame of seven-foot to produce any effect on the immense firmament of the heavens.
>
> “Man in the great universe is like a louse or a flea inside his clothes, or an ant in a hole in the earth. Can a louse or a flea make any movement that will cause a change in the atmosphere under your garments?” (43) ⑤

That is to say, the Han Theology was based upon a Homocentric conception of the universe,—upon a grossly exaggerated importance of man in the universe.

Scientific knowledge of the age,—though still very inadequate in respect to the real immensity of the solar system,—was correcting this view.

At his time, the scientific world accepted the estimate that the distance between Heaven & Earth was over 60,000 *li* (里). Wang Ch'ung refers to this estimate many times. (19, 31, 32)

The following passage clearly shows the effect of scientific knowledge upon the thinking of Wang Ch'ung:—

> "In about 42 months, there is one eclipse of the sun. In about 5 to 6 months, there is one eclipse of the moon. ($5\frac{20}{23}$ months)
>
> "The eclipses are regular occurrences and have nothing to do with politics & government. The hundreds of 'changes' (anomalies), and the thousands of calamities are of the same category. They may not be caused by the policies of the rulers on earth." ㊸ (not translated)

On the constructive side, Wang Ch'ung went back to the naturalistic philosophy of an earlier age and revived it with vigorous and logical thinking.

> "The ways of Heaven (*tien*) are *tzu-jan* (so of itself) and *wu-wei* (doing nothing). If Heaven 'warns' men and governments, then it is no longer *tzu-jan* and *wu-wei*." ㊷ ⑥

He carried the old naturalism much further by a special development of a theory of "accidental origin of the universe and life."

It was accident vs. purpose; chance vs. design; tychism vs. teleology.

> "The Confucianist scholars say that Heaven & Earth purposefully created Man. This is a false statement. The *ch'i* (ethereal or gaseous elements) of the universe come together, and man is accidentally produced, just as a child is naturally conceived when the *ch'i* of husband & wife come together. … Man and wife do not purposefully produce a child. In the same way, Heaven & Earth do not purposely create man.
>
> "Therefore, man is born in the universe just as the fish is produced in the water, or the flea and louse on the human body.
>
> "All are born of the *ch'i*, and each species reproduces itself.
>
> "The same is true of all things produced in the universe.… When the *ch'i* of Heaven & Earth get together, things are accidentally produced.
>
> "How do we know that Heaven does not purposely produce the living beings?
>
> "If Heaven purposely created the living beings, it surely should make them love one another, and not make them prey upon, and injure, and destroy one another.
>
> "…It has been argued that in order that all beings might be of use to one another, God had to make them injure and prey upon one another.
>
> "If that were the case, then we must point out that tigers, wolves, poisonous snakes, & poisonous wasps all injure & prey on men,—can we say that Heaven has created man for the purpose that he may be used for the benefit of those harmful animals?" (14) ④

It was a philosophy of chance vs. design.
偶 (*ou—ngou*) vs. 故 (*ku*)
The story of a man of Sung who carved a leaf of jade and after 3 yrs. made a

perfect leaf. “If,” said Confucius, “if nature takes 3 yrs. to make a leaf, there will be very few leaves indeed!”[6]

Leaves are produced of themselves. Therefore they can be produced in vast numbers at the same time.

The same is true of the feathers of the birds and the colors of the feathers.

All living things are reborn in spring, & are ripe in the autumn. Are they made by Heaven? No. They become so of themselves.

How could Heaven & Earth have tens of tens of thousands of hands to make all the tens of tens of thousands of things?

Things become so in the universe, just as a child grows in the womb of the mother. It is not the mother who makes the child’s nose, ears, mouth, and eyes, hair & skin, blood and bones, etc. etc.

> “It has just lavished powder on the wings of the butterfly,
> And must now dip into mineral yellow for the body of the wasp.”
> (Poem by Yang Wanli of the 12th century)

Determinism

Wang Ch’ung conceived “*ming*” (命) as of 2 kinds:

① “The inherited stuff” (禀气之命) which comes from the “*ch’i*” (气) partaken at birth, and which forms the “nature” (性). Long life and short life, strength & weakness, are determined by this aspect of “*ming*” (that which is ordained at birth). (4) (7)

This “*ming*” includes one’s fortune (wealth or poverty, honor or lowliness), which also comes from the *ch’i*.

Curiously, Wang Ch’ung conceived the *ch’i* as the gaseous matter partaken of the stars. If one’s *ch’i* comes from the honored stars, he will achieve wealth & honors. If it comes from the lowly stars, he will suffer poverty & lowliness.

(He, therefore, believed in phrenology (骨相) on the ground that what one received from birth could manifest itself in bodily shape and form!) (6) ⑪

② There is, however, an accidental aspect of “*ming*”: It may be called “luck” (幸), what “just happened” to a person. (触值之命) (1, 2, 5)

> “Many persons may be caught at the same time in a war, but some may escape destruction, just as in a frost, some plants may happen to be protected and therefore survive longer.” (5)

Wang Ch’ung studied all earlier views of human nature (性) and criticized most of them. He agreed with Confucius but pointed out that the best theory of human

6 Editor’s Note: According to Chapter 8 of *LiehTzu*, the remarks were by Lieh Tzu.

nature was that expounded by the School of Shih Shuo (世硕) and Kung-sun Ni (公孙尼) which held that men differ in nature, some more inclined to be good, others more inclined to be bad.

⑬⑧

Wang Ch'ung believes in grouping men in 3 classes:
① Those above the mean (中人) are by nature good.
② Those below the mean are by nature bad.
③ The mean or average—in whom the good & bad are mixed (13)

The Age of Criticism

Two tendencies were discernible in the centuries immediately following Wang Ch'ung:
① The rise of a Critical Spirit
② The great vogue of the Taoistic philosophy

The Critical Spirit was manifest in several directions.

1. In the intellectual world, a number of critical scholars arose and brought about a new intellectual fashion.

Chang Hêng (平子) (78-139) openly criticized the *ch'an* (谶) and *wei* (纬) and pointed to many internal evidences to prove that these apocryphal works were of a very late origin, probably fabricated about the end of the 1st century B.C. He suggested that the government should confiscate all the apocryphal books and place them under prohibition.

Chang Hêng was a great mathematician & astronomer who was very skillful in the making of fine instruments for astronomical observation & for representing the new astronomical theory of a Global Universe (浑天) which conceived of both Heaven & Earth as round, the Heaven enveloping the earth like the white of the egg enveloping the yolk.

He was the Imperial Astronomer for a number of years. In 132, he constructed an instrument for the detection of earthquakes. For this, he constructed a "Celestial Globe" 浑天仪.

Hsü Shên (d. after 121) spent 2 decades in producing a great Dictionary—the *Shuo Wen* (说文) which was completed in 121.

A scholar of great learning, Chêng Hsuan (127-200), wrote commentaries on practically all the Classics, and most of his commentaries came to be accepted as standard in place of earlier commentaries.

A gifted thinker, Wang Pi (d. c. 245) (王弼), who died at the age of 24, left a

commentary on the *Chou Yi* and one on *Lao Tzu*, both of which swept away all the Han commentators and eloquently developed the naturalistic implications of those two ancient works.

2. The Critical Spirit also showed itself in the social and political writings of the 2nd and 3rd centuries.

王符 (Wang Fu—d. c. 170)《潜夫论》
崔寔 (Tsui Shih—d. c. 170)《政论》
仲长统 (Chung Ch'ang-t'ung d. 220)《昌言》(*Outspoken Words*)

Tsui Shih & Wang Fu wrote in very frank & outspoken manner.

Tsui Shih was one of the highly respected men of the age, although he never achieved political prominence.

仲长统《昌言》

The preserved parts show that he had some very bold ideas on the land problem, the tax problem, the problem of reorganization of the central & local governments, and problem of law reform.

He wanted a more equitable distribution of land, but a higher rate of taxation, and a much higher scale of pay for government officials.

In one of the preserved chapters, Chung Ch'ang-t'ung openly said that the statesman should devote himself to the affairs of man (人事) and should have little to do with the Ways of Heaven (天道). "The affairs of man are the essential things. The Ways of Heaven are unimportant."

3. A peculiar form of this spirit of criticism was the fashion of passing public judgment on the leaders of the age. It was called *Jen Lun* "Critique of Man."

天下模楷 (model of mankind)
李元礼 Li Yuan-li (Li Ying, d. 169)
不畏强御 (never cowed by powerful opposition)
陈仲举 Ch'en Chung-chü

The Effect of Criticism on Actual Politics

The political power of the empire had gradually slipped from the weak and spoiled monarchs and had passed to the hands of a group of powerful eunuchs who held the confidence of the emperors and empresses and empress-dowagers.

The burden of political criticism was taken up by the young intelligentsia—the students of the national university—which in the 2nd century had 30,000 students. They attacked the eunuchs and supported those political leaders whom they thought to be liberal reformers.

Politicians & students plotted to clean the Court of the eunuchs & the corrupt politicians.

The corrupt politicians & eunuchs fought back, and brought about the "Great Proscription" in 166 & 169, in which hundreds of liberal leaders were arrested &

killed, and thousands of others were placed under the "Index" and deprived of civil rights and freedom of movement. The Proscription lasted till 184.

The Fall of the Han Empire

The political situation went from bad to worse.

A new Enemy Race, the Shien-pei (鮮卑), had been pushing its way from northern Asia, and was making frequent invasions on the northern borders of the Empire.

A western tribe, the Ch'iang (羌), was constantly creating disturbances in the west.

A great rebellion of the "yellow-turbans" led by an underground Taoist religion, broke out in 184 and for a time threatened to break up the Han Empire.

The Rebellion was put down. But the Empire was tottering.

Political power passed to the provincial governors, who were becoming local rulers and war lords.

By 190, the Empire was broken up into many independent & warring areas.

A great statesman, Ts'ao Ts'ao (d. 220), a man of great literary & political ability, succeeded in gradually re-conquering the northern provinces and establishing a strong government in north China. But he never succeeded in re-unifying the country.

His son took over the throne in 220, and founded the Kingdom of Wei, thus ending the 400 yrs. of the Han Empire.

Ts'ao Ts'ao (155-220), under whom Chung Ch'ang-t'ung served as a secretary, and who was the ablest general & statesman of the age, as well as one of its major poets, was in a sense a product of the Critical Spirit of the time.

He swept away all the moral & religious conventions of the entire Han tradition and was noted, & attacked by posterity, for his unscrupulous discard of all traditional codes of private conduct and politics.

Liu Pei, a distant member of the Imperial family, occupied the western & south-western provinces and founded the Kingdom of Han.

Sun Ch'uan occupied the middle & lower Yangze Valley and extended his rule to the whole south. His was the Kingdom of Wu.

The Period of the Three Kingdoms—220-280

Politic

The Chin Dynasty which brought the unification of the Empire in 280, was unable to place the new empire on a lasting foundation.

In less than 20 years, the empire again broke up, first by internal strife among the members of the Imperial Household, and later by the rise in rebellion of the various non-Chinese races & tribes.

From 300 to 420, the Period of “五胡乱华”

From 420 to 590, the Period of 南北朝

Chapter 3
The Age of the Medieval Religions

Rise of Taoism as a Religion:

Siniticism—the religion of indigenous China—lifts its head from time to time, and each time assumes a new name that happens to be in vogue at that time.

① Moism (Modified Sinit.)
② Confucianism (Modified Sinit.)
③ Taoism (Enlarged & Organized)

The Confucianists of Han tried to make use of the Sinitic religion and convert it into a political tool of Confucianism,—a power higher than the monarch, to be used for the checking of the unlimited power of the monarchy in a unified empire.

"The principle of the *Ch'un Ch'iu*," said Tung Chung-shu, "is that the people should follow the ruler and the ruler should follow God." (以人随君，以君随天)

They had a moderate measure of success in the political sphere,—① in building up a civilian government through the founding of the civil service system, ② in encouraging & spreading education through governmental university and private teaching, and ③ establishing a body of "Sacred Scriptures" with an authority tantamount to that of the "basic law" of the state.

And they did try in earnest to bring about a number of social & economic reforms in the interest of the people.

But the Han scholars never quite dared, nor succeeded wherever they did make a feeble attempt, to undermine or purify the state religion which their great Confucianist priest-statesmen had helped to establish.

The age continued to be one of grotesque occultism and superstition under grandiose Imperial patronage.

In 31 B.C., the Prime Minister reported that there were 683 shrines of worship under the direct charge of the Imperial Government! He proposed to retain 208 of these shrines, and abolish the remaining 475.

This was done. But in a few years' time, most of the abolished shrines were again revived. Because the Emperor got sick, and had no son!

By the time of the weakling Emperor Ai Ti (哀帝, 6-1 B.C.), there were again over 700 Imperial Shrines and Temples of Worship. Each year, there were 37,000 sacrifices!

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The Reform Emperor Wang Mang was a very superstitious man, under whose reign (9-23), the number of places of worship increased to 1700; and over 3000 sacrificial animals & birds were used in these shrines!

In his last years, the government Treasury often found it difficult to supply this large number of sacrificial animals, and had to substitute chickens for geese and wild ducks, and dogs for deer!

When the rebellious armies were closing on the palace, Wang Mang went to the Altar of Heaven, and prayed devoutly, beating his chest, striking his head against the ground, shedding hot tears, and praying for Heaven (God) to help him.

When the rebels broke into his palace and fire was bursting out everywhere,— he ran up a tower and held his Book of Fu-ming (Heavenly Decree) in his arms till his death!

When educated members of the ruling class indulged in such superstitious beliefs & practices, it was natural to find the populace sink more & more deeply in all forms of superstition & occultism.

Indeed popular superstition was the source & the fountain-head of the state religion, which was nothing but the beliefs & practices of the population, slightly nationalized and slightly systematized or organized.

The state religion as taught by the philosophers, took many elements from popular belief & practice. But the populace was always seeking new gods & new forms of worship. In the course of time, the new gods & new rituals of the people came to be incorporated as part & parcel of the State Religion. When such new gods & new rituals became too many for the old State Religion to include & assimilate, then it might be necessary for the State Religion to change its old label to conform to the new fashion of the Age.

Examples:

The Five Sacrifices (*Wu Tzu*) (五祀) of the 3rd & 2nd centuries B.C. (门，户，中溜，灶，行) (Gate, Door, House, Kitchen, Road) came in later period to include two more New Sacrifices:

厉(*li*) (God of Sickness)

司命 (*Szu-ming*) (the Controller of Fate) who controls the three forms of fate:

① 受命 (Heridity & Age)

② 遭命 (Evil Luck)

③ 随命 (Retribution)

According to a historian of the 2nd century A.D., 应劭 (d. about 202), "the people nowadays worship the Controller of Fate in the form of a wooden idol, one foot and 2 inches in height, in the shape of a man. Travellers carry this god in their baggage-case. The people who stay at home, keep this god in a small special shrine."

And these two new gods early came to be accepted as part of the State Religion, thus enlarging the 五祀 into 七祀! (祭法)

The rise of underground Taoism in various forms.

Old Sinitic religion was now coming up in a new garb: it is calling itself Taoism (道).

Early in the 2nd century, a Taoist Sect arose on the eastern coast. Its text was called *The Book of Eternal Peace* (《太平经》).

The Sect was called "The Way (Tao) of Eternal Peace" (太平道教).

The Yellow Turbans came out of this Sect. (184)

The leaders of the Yellow Turbans, Chang Chiao (Chüeh) 张角, and his brothers, were followers of this Sect of Taoism.

They claimed to be "Healers" by means of charms & spells (符咒). Sick people were asked to kowtow & to think of their sins and then made to drink "charmed water." Those who were thus healed, became "converts." Those who were not cured, were said to be lacking "faith."

About the same period, Chang Ling (张陵) who came from the region of 太平道 (沛国丰人) but who migrated to western China (蜀), taught a new Sect of Taoism which was called 五斗米道, because each convert's family was required to contribute 5 pecks of rice to the common stock. Its followers were required to read the *Book of Lao Tzu*.

A sick person was asked to meditate on his sins in a quiet room, and to make confessions in a written petition to be made in 3 copies, one copy to go to Heaven, one to be buried underground, and the third to be sunk in water.

Chang Ling transmitted his leadership to his son Chang Hêng, who had a popular following.

Chang Hêng's son, Chang Lu (张鲁), was a greater organizer and a political leader who occupied & ruled over the 汉中 area as an independent kingdom for nearly 30 years.

Under Chang Lu, the Sect underwent some important changes in organization.

He established relief centers with rice & meat which were given free to travellers & toilers. People who had confessed having committed small irregularities or sins, were sent to work on road-building, the idea being that building of 200 or 300 feet of roads would be sufficient to redeem the faults confessed.

He enforced prohibition of intoxicating drinks, and prohibition of slaughtering of animal for meat in the spring & summer months.

He taught the people to practice honesty and faithfulness.

He organized his followers into a voluntary band or church. At the top was the 师君 (The Master Teacher). Under him was the Masters of Libation (祭酒) who were leaders of groups. Those who led large numbers were called "Chief Masters of Libation" (治头大祭酒). The members of the Sect were called 鬼卒 "soldiers of the Spirits."

When a member had committed a crime, or violated a law of the Sect, he would be given two chances of repentance & reform. If he was found guilty the 3rd time, he would be punished.

Chang Lu abolished all officials & governments in his territory and ruled his people only through the teachers of his Sect.

In 215, he surrendered to the conquering armies of Ts'ao Ts'ao and was given a Dukedom. His 5 sons were also given high titles of nobility. Ts'ao Ts'ao even had one of his sons marry Chang Lu's daughter.

Chang Lu's long reign of peace in the Han-Chung area, and the political prominence of his family under the Wei Dynasty—helped to spread the New Religion of Taoism far & wide.

His grandfather, Chang Ling, has come to be regarded as the Founder of religious Taoism, and was later given the title of "Heavenly Master" (天师),—and his family continued for over a thousand years to hold that title as the Head of Taoism.

Throughout the Han period, there were alchemists who sought to prolong the physical life by physical methods of diet, exercises, & breath control.

184-220	Civil Strife
220	Wei Dynasty begins.
220-265	The Three Kingdoms
263	Kingdom of (Shu-)Han was conquered.
265	Wei Dynasty abdicates.
280	Kingdom of Wu was conquered.
300-306	Civil Strife
300-420	The Period of 16 Barbarian Kingdoms in North & West China
420-589	—The Period of the Northern & Southern Dynasties

The need of an escapist philosophy for the intelligentsia is an age of political misrule, oppression, and war.

The 20 years of the "Great Proscription" (166-184) was really one of the most terrible persecutions in history.

But under the relative peace and political stability of the period of the Three Kingdoms, political oppression and persecution continued in the north, and to some extent in the southern Kingdom of Wu.

The new regime of Ts'ao Ts'ao and his son was suspicious of those who might remain loyal to the Han Empire.

Ts'ao Ts'ao instituted a system of political inspectors (校事) or spies,—the "Gestapo."

In a few decades, a new power arose in the person of the great general, Szu-ma Yi (司马懿), whose family gradually usurped all the powers of the throne.

In the struggle between the Ts'ao family and the Szu-ma family, many loyalists of the passing dynasty were persecuted & murdered, including a number of well-known intellectuals.

In 265, the Wei Dynasty abdicated in favor of the Szu-ma family who founded the Chin Dynasty and brought about the conquest of the other 2 independent kingdoms.

Unification came in 280.

From 220 to 265, in less than half a century, there were three major changes of political power. Political intrigue, plotting, suspicion, espionage, persecution, and execution were the order of the day. The intelligentsia lived in constant fear.

In 220 Ts'ao P'ei (曹丕) accepted the throne from the abdicating Emperor of Han in a great ceremony supposedly in emulation of the classical ideal of Shun receiving the Mandate of Heaven from Yao, and of Yü receiving it from Shun.

Ts'ao P'ei, the oldest son of Ts'ao Ts'ao, was one of the great poets of the age, and a great master of prose. He knew what he was doing.

As he descended the steps of the great Altar of "Voluntary Transmission," he turned to one of his followers and whispered: "I now understand the story of Shun and Yü."

He saw through it all. And his people saw through it all.

It was natural that this age should welcome the philosophy of Lao Tzu & Chuang Tzu as an escape from reality.

Philosophic Taoism protests against the artificial and over-refined civilization and preaches a return to the ways of nature. That appealed to the intellectuals of the age who were eye-witnesses of the "rape" of all Confucianist rites, rituals and institutions by the political groups in their usurpation of dynastic power. Gross and shameless fraud & hypocrisy were solemnly practiced with grandiose ceremony and pomp. And it was melodramatically repeated within the brief space of a lifetime. (220 and 265)

It was revoltingly distasteful. So practically all the leading thinkers of the age—王弼, 何晏, 阮籍, 嵇康, 向秀, 刘伶, and others—turned Taoists. In cosmology, they preached naturalism, and worshipped Non-being and Nothingness.

In political theory, they longed for laissez-faire and non-interference.

In philosophy of life, they talked of following one's natural inclinations, of freedom, of breaking down all legalistic and moralistic restrictions.

They literally drank themselves to death—indeed openly praying for death by drunkenness.

They who found no freedom in real life, wrote about and dreamed of the "Immortal" (神仙), "the Great Man" (大人先生) who had all kinds of freedom to flee the world, ride the clouds, and see the wonderful things beyond this little cage of man!

Juan Chi (210-263) (阮籍) said: "Is there any difference between a louse in my trousers and a gentleman living in this world!"

A lousy world it was, which these plaintive philosophers were longing to escape from!

Thus was begun the Age of "清谈"—of Talking Abstraction, of Talking about Nothingness and Non-being.

Thus was intellectual China preparing itself for a thousand years of Indianization—of Buddhism.

The Age of the Medieval Religions (300-1000)

300-420	The Barbarian States in N. China
420-589	The Northern & Southern Dynasties
589-618	Sui Empire
618-907	Tang Empire
907-960	The Five Dynasties
960-1126	Sung Empire
1127-1279	Southern Sung Dynasty

1. Superstitions
2. Other-worldly
3. Gradual Increase of Austerity and Inhumanity in Legal Procedure and Social Relations

4. Absence of First Class Minds in Chinese Thought

Redeeming Features:
(1) Civil service carried on.
(2) School Education for the Civil Service
(3) Rise of a New Literature

Vijñānavādin School—
Asanga 无着
Vasubandhu 天亲
Hsüan Tsang (玄奘)
returned to China in 645
died 664

Tantrism
Mantra (真言) 曼陀罗
Dhāranī
Shan-wu-wei 善无畏 arrived in 716
(Śubhakarasimha)
Vajrabodhi 金刚智 arrived (Canton) 719
Amoghavajra 不空

真言 *Chen-yen*
Shingon
Dainichi Nyorai
(Maha-Vairocana)
Kūkai

Modern dating of Buddha—560-480? B.C.

Introduction of Buddhism

Old Tradition—put it at 65 A.D.

Probably a gradual process, beginning probably as early as the 1st century B.C.

Mr. T'ang Yung-tung 汤用彤 believes in the story that Buddhism came into China in 2 B.C.—

By the 1st century,—65—it had already converted a powerful Prince of the Imperial Family (楚王英).

By 165, the Emperor Huan Ti was worshipping the Buddha in his palace together with Lao Tzu.

By 166, a Chinese scholar, Hsiang Kai 襄楷, was quoting a Buddhist text in a memorial to the throne, and was discussing the matter of Imperial worship of Buddha & Lao Tzu.

By 190, a war lord in the lower Yangtze Valley (笮融), was practicing and spreading Buddhism on a large scale.

About this time (190), a southern scholar, Mon Tzu-po (牟子博), was writing a treatise in defense of Buddhism.

Early Buddhism had to borrow Taoist terminology for the translation of its ideas.

For some time it was often not differentiated from the Taoist religion.

Constantine I (306-337) was converted to Christianity in 313.

Over 250 years of gradual and even rapid spread of Christianity among the people

Stages of Buddhistic Conversion of China:

(1) Conversion of the masses at a fairly early date

(2) Patronage by the Rich & Powerful (外护) (1st century down)

① 楚王英

② Huan Ti

③ Cha Zung

④ Sun Chuan

⑤ Shih Le (314-333)

⑥ Shih Hu (334-349)

⑦ Fu Chien (357-383)

(3) Accumulation of Translated Scriptures (1st, 2nd, & 3rd)

支谦 (222-250)

竺法护 (266-308)

(4) Patronage by the Scholarly Class, and their Interpretation in terms of Chinese Naturalistic Philosophy—"格义" "Parallel Interpretation"

What is Mahayana Buddhism?

What were its tenets and dogmas?

Background

1. Popular Superstition
2. Intellectual Naturalism & Nihilism
3. Political Disintegration
4. Racial Leveling (Barbarization)

"小巫见大巫"

The old Sinitic religion was too simple, too unimaginative,—too much lacking in imagery & pageantry to satisfy the masses, and too factual & unmetaphysical to satisfy the soft-minded intelligentsia.

And Buddhism came to China when it had had many centuries of active development: it came into China as Mahayana Buddhism.

四法: 1. 诸行无常 (Impermanence)

2. 诸行苦 (Pain)

3. 诸行无我 (No Continuing Self—No Prime Cause)

4. 涅槃永寂 (Nirvana)

五戒: 1. Killing (Taking life)

2. Theft
3. Adultery
4. Untruth
5. Drinking

Mahayana Buddhism

Eliot (Hinduism & Buddhism) laid down 7 characteristics of Mahayana Budi.
1. Belief in & worship of Bodhisattva
2. Belief in & worship of the Buddha as a great god with supernatural powers
3. Emphasis on salvation
4. Idealistic philosophy
5. The New Texts of the Mahayana
6. Idol worship & Tantricism
7. The worship of the Amita Buddha

Farquhar:

> The Mahayana is, on one side, the acute Hinduizing of Buddhism, [and] on the other, the humanizing of the old discipline, so as to make Buddhism more suitable for the cultured Indian laymen and for the men of many races now crowding into the community.

1. The Elements of Hinduistic origin which have been incorporated into Buddhism:—
(1) Transmigration of souls
(2) Karma
(3) Yoga
(4) Tantricism (Tantrism)
(5) Idolatry
(6) Heavens & Hells

Heavens

三十二天 { 欲界 10; 色界 18; 无色界 4 } 32

其中欲界第六天又名“三十三天”

Hells (Naraka，那落迦)
《长阿含》大地狱有八，其八地狱又各有十六小地狱
8×16 = 128!
The worst, the 8th, is the Avitchi (阿鼻) naraka—the hell of “no intermission of punishments.” (无间)

阿鼻地狱又有十八层地狱，每一地狱别有十八隔小地狱
18×18 = 1584！(《观佛三昧海经》)

《问地狱经》及《净度三昧经》云“地狱有134界”。

The Full Mahayana:
2. Devotion & worship to the Buddhas & the Bodhisattvas
Buddhas
Maitreya 弥勒 in the Tushita Heaven
Amita
Avalokitesvara 观世音菩萨
Bhaishajya raja 药王菩萨

3. The Bodhisattva life:
Every human being is capable of becoming a Bodhisattva & a Buddha. The path has many stages (bhumis), but the end is certain.
Infinite love (无量慈) often leads to self-sacrifice & self-destruction. (月中兔影)
Bhaishajyaraja's self-destruction as a supreme form of sacrifice

The Six Paths (paramitas)
1. 布施 (Give) (Charity)
2. 持戒 (Observation of Rules)
3. 忍辱 (Humility,—Forbearance of Injury & Insult)
4. 精进 (Perseverance in Devotion)
5. 禅定 (Meditation)
6. 智慧 (Insight—Wisdom)
The goal is not nirvana but the attainment of Buddhahood.

4. The Prajnaparamita—The Philosophy of Vacuity or Emptiness (sunyata) 空
Nagarjuna (龙树), the greatest philosopher of the system, called it the Madhyamaka (中道), middle between existence & non-existence,—“All things are empty.”
“All entities are mere names.” (假名)
This nihilism fits in most beautifully with the Chinese nihilism of the Taoist thinkers of the 3rd & 4th centuries.
Its nominalism also fits in beautifully with the extreme nominalism of the age.
It was a liberating and emancipating philosophy.

5. Dhyāna (Meditation)
(1) Breath Counting & Control—
Ana 安
Pana 般
① 数 (Counting)
② 随 (Following)
③ 止 (Concentrating on one place)
④ 观 (Seeing—understanding)

(2) The Insight of Uncleanness (不净观) for the control of carnal passions.
Go to the burial places and watch the decomposition of the dead bodies.

(3) The Path of Infinite
Love for the control of anger (瞋) (恚)
Love for all men
Love all sentient beings.
Love your enemy.

(4) The Method of Thought & Insight for the Cure of Ignorance:—
① Impermanence 无常
② Selflessness 无我
③ Life is pain 苦
④ Life is empty 空

If anyone insults you, you should think:
What is an insult but a sound—which is empty.
And who is the insulter?
He is an accidental combination of elements which is neither permanent nor real. How can one be angry with an accidental grouping of elements?
And who is the one being insulted? Nothing but another accidental combination of elements which is neither real nor permanent!

(5) The Method of Contemplating on the Buddha (念佛)
① Contemplating the grandeur (三十二相) and power & wisdom of the Buddha & of the Buddhas
② Contemplating on Maitreya

What are the objectives which the methods of Dhyana seek to achieve?
The Four Stages of Dhyana:
1. 初禅 (Insight or wisdom conquers all desires & passions.)
2. 二禅 Passing over the state of being contented with your intellectual approach, you may arrive at a state of "joy" (喜), at which you are free from the intellectual efforts, and attain joyous calm, a calmness like still lake-water, without a ripple, yet capable of reflecting the moon, the stars, and the hill.
3. 三禅 Passing over the state of joy which is after all a vulgar state of happiness,—you now may achieve a deeper and more refined kind of happiness. This state is called "sukham" which Eliot translated "ease" (细乐)—or blissfulness.
4. 四禅 This is the "peak" of attainment at which even the feeling of "ease" disappears. There is neither pain nor joy, neither ease nor unease. Just a state of smooth & complete mastery of every situation, "just like the master rider on horseback, going comfortably wherever he wishes to go."

四无量心 The four Boundless Wishes
1. Boundless Love (慈)
2. Boundless Mercy (悲)
3. Boundless Happiness (喜)
4. Boundless Giving (舍)

四念处 (Eliot calls "Four Trances") the four "Heavens" of Emptiness (空宫)
(1) 虚空处 (Seeing your body as all "hollow" & "empty")
(2) 识处 (Seeing all things as illusory, result of 识 mental construction) (representation) (awareness) all things are thoughts
(3) 无所有处 (See all thought as unreal.)
"Absolutely nothing exists."
(4) 非想非非想处
"Neither thought nor no-thought"
"Neither consciousness nor unconsciousness"

六（五）神通(abhijna)
Five Supernatural Powers:
1. Power of flying & transformation (如意通) (神足通)
2. All-hearing Power (天耳通)
3. Telepathy (他心通) (Knowing other minds.)
4. Knowing the past (宿命通)
5. All-seeing (天眼通)
6. "Knowing the finality of the stream of life" (漏尽通)

The Dhyana methodology as taught by Buddhism is verbalistic scholasticism, mostly mere words.

Its highest objectives—the magic powers—are sheer imagination and sheer deception.

Dhyana appealed to the Chinese people of the 4th and 5th centuries, because the Chinese people were seeking release from this world—which was painful & unhappy—and were dreaming of the *Chên jen* (真人) or *Hsien jen* (仙人) who could freely fly the clouds and live happily & freely for ever & ever!

Era. Tao An, the most intellectual leader of Buddhism in the 4th century, wrote of Dhyana as "the secret path to rise up as *Hsien jen*" (升仙). He wrote: "The Yogacharabhumi leads to the final stage of nirvana. He who attain this state of nirvana may lift his foot and cause the entire universe to tremble; may wave his hand and block out the light of the sun & the moon; may whistle a little voice and the Sumeru Mountains (须弥山) (the highest mts. of the world) will fly up & dance a merry-go-round!"

"Gata, gata, Hridaya sutra paragata, parasangata, Bodhisattva."

5. The Salvation by Faith:

The Sect of Amita Buddha (The B. of Boundless Longevity & Light): the Pure Land

It seems to have grown up at a later date.

Nien-fu (念佛) changed from contemplating of the glories of the Pure Land to mere pronouncing of the name of the Amitabha.

南无阿弥陀佛！Namah Amitabha! = 皈依 = humbly trust in

Three Founding Fathers of Chinese Buddhism:—
① Tao An (道安) (d. 385)
② Kumarajiva (鸠摩罗什) (d. 409)

③ Hui Yuan (慧远) (d. 416)

道安 (Tao An)
① He promoted systematic translation & study of Buddhist literature, and wrote commentaries on the existent translations.
② He catalogued the translated texts.
③ He formulated the monastic rules for both the monks & the nuns.
④ His great learning elevated the position of Buddhism in the eyes of the intelligentsia.

Kumarajiva's great contribution was in his remarkably readable translations. His translations—*Lotus*, *Vimalakirt*, *Diamond Needle*, etc., etc.—have remained Chinese classics.

Hui Yuan was a Chinese scholar who was converted to Buddhism at 20. He was a pupil of Tao An and a friend & correspondent of Kumarajiva. His great influence was largely due to his Chinese learning, his moral character, his promotion of systematic translation, his founding of the Pure Land Sect, his opening of Lu-Shan as a center of Buddhism—and his fight against Huan Hsüan (桓玄) in 404 in the controversy over whether the monks should pay homage & respect to the emperor.

Internal Reform & Internal Revolution

1. Tao Sheng (道生, d. 434)

> "The symbol is to express a meaning; when the meaning is grasped, the symbol can be discarded.
>
> "The word is for the explanation of an idea. When one has penetrated into the idea, one can remain silent.
>
> "Ever since the eastward flow of the scriptures, because of the indirectness of the translators, most people have only kept the clumsy wording, but very few have seen the full truth. If we can forget the fishing net and get at the fish, then, but not until then, we may be able to understand the full truth (of Buddhism)."

Tao Sheng's new doctrines:
(1) Attainment of Buddhahood through Sudden Enlightenment. 顿悟成佛
(2) Goodness admits no Return. 善不受报
(3) There is no Pure Land in Buddhism. 佛无净土
(4) That an icchantika (one who does not believe in the law) can also become Buddha.

Tao Sheng initiated a movement toward
(1) Simplification of Bud.
(2) Discarding of Verbalism & Scholasticism
(3) Emphasis on Sudden Awakening

(4) Influence of Chinese Naturalism

2. T'ien T'ai (天台) School—智顗 [Chih K'ai (Chih-i)] (538-597)

(1) Systematization of Buddhism in 判教 "Dividing the Scriptures in Epochs"
① Before Birth—the 华严 (Buddhāvatamsaka sut.)
② Early Preaching—小乘
③ Middle Period—方等 (Vaipulya)
④ Last Period—Prajnaparamita
This attempt ends in a new kind of scholasticism!
(2) 止观
止 = Meditation
观 = Insight
This too ends in more scholasticism. They spent 200,000 words just to explain these 2 terms!
Had to resort to Tantrism for help!

3. Bodhidharma (In China about 470-515)

Founded the 楞伽宗 (The Lankavatara School)
He preached a simplified Dhyana:
(1) 理入(Through understanding) Absolute equality among all sentient beings—all men have potentiality of Buddhahood—no ego, nor non-ego
(2) 行入 [Through action(?)]
① Forbearance of Hardship & injury
② Abiding by whatever comes—no worry, nor rejoicing
③ Seeking nothing for one's self (无所求)
④ Act in accordance with the principle of vacuity: Act as if no acting at all!
Even this school became "scholastic" in the end.
But on the whole, this school produced some ascetic practitioners of Dhyana.
Out of the school, came Shên Hsiu (神秀) or Tao Hsiu (道秀) (d. 706), after whose death, it was published that he was the sixth generation after Bodhidhama. He was invited by the Empress Wu to visit the Palace (700), was acclaimed by the Court & by the populace. He was called "the Master of the Law at the two Capitals, and the National Teacher of Three Emperors."
His two disciples were also similarly honored by the Imperial Court.

4. The Vijñanavadin School—in Logic & Psychology—Hsüan Tsang (d. 664) spent 17 years in India and brought back the latest philosophy & religion as it was taught at the Nalanda Monastery—the greatest scholasticisms ever produced by man!

5. Tantrism (密宗)

See Dr. Chou Yi-liang's "Tantrism in China" (*H.J.A.S.* March, 1945).

6. The Shortest Epitome of Buddhism was found in a verse:

诸恶莫作，Avoid all evil,
众善奉行，Do all good,
自净其意，Purify all thought:
是真佛教。This is the true Buddhism.

Hui Neng (died 713)
Shên Hui (died 760)
Ma Tsu (Tao-I) (died 786)
Huai Hai (died 814)
Hsüan Chien 宣鉴 (died 865)
I-Hsüan (义玄) (died 867)

7. The Southern School of Ch'an

Hui Neng—(慧能 d. 713) an illiterate monk of aboriginal origin. He taught a startling kind of Ch'an.

His career was confined to Canton & Shao Chou.

The Old Trinity (3 Treasures)	The New Trinity
Abide by the Buddha.	Abide by your Awakening which is within you.
Abide by the Law.	Abide by righteousness which is within you.
Abide by the Brotherhood.	Abide by purity which is within you.

Seek not the Pure Land:
It is within you.
Sit not in meditation: To understand your original goodness is Ch'an.
Understand your own nature, and you will attain!

Methodology
不立文字，
直指人心，
见性成佛。

8. Shên Hui (神会, d. 760)

The Fighter—

In 734, he publicly claimed that his master, Hui Neng, was the Six Patriarch, who had "inherited" the "truth" from the 5th Patriarch in a midnight secret session. And as a token of this secret "Apostolic Succession," the 5th Patriarch had given

him the "Robe of Succession."

He challenged the School of Shên Hsiu as "usurpers" in the line of Apostolic Succession, as teaching a false doctrine.

He repeated this public testimony & challenge in 745.

He preached the doctrine of Sudden Awakening and condemned the Northern School as teaching the false doctrine of Gradual Attainment 渐修.

He was persecuted & banished [to] the south.

Then came the Rebellion of 755 which almost overthrew the T'ang Empire.

Shên Hui came back and helped the gov't in raising money by selling "licenses of ordination," & by public subscription.

He was rewarded by the government by [being] recognized as the 7th Patriarch. And his master, the illiterate monk of Canton, was recognized as the 6th Patriarch.

道一 (Tao Yi) 马祖 who taught a much simplified doctrine: "Everything is Tao, and setting the mind free is Ch'an." 触类是道，任心为修。

There is no law to abide by. There is no Buddhahood to attain. 无法可拘，无佛可作。

Huai Hai (怀海) (d. 814) who worked a new set of regulations & discipline for the Ch'an School

There is no Hall of the Buddha (佛堂), but there is a Hall of the Law—a lecture & discussion Hall.

All the monks live together. Everybody must work:

> "一日不作，一日不食。" "One day no work, one day no food."
> Revolutionary organization

Iconoclasm

Tien Jan (天然)'s story of chopping a wooden image of the Buddha for fire wood

The great iconoclasts:
(1) Hsüan Chien (宣鉴) (d. 865) (德山) (Western Hunan)

> Just take a rest: do nothing; seek nothing. There is no death to worry about; no Nirvana to attain; no Bodhi to achieve. Just be an ordinary man.

He used all kinds of slang, and vulgar abusive language.

> "The Buddha is a great murderer who led many, many people to the pit of adultery & crime!
> "Bodhidharma is that old stinking Barbarian!" "All the Bodhisattvas are just carriers of garbage and manure."
> "The Tripitaka is just a list of ghosts, good only for wiping the pus off a carbuncle.

"And all the abstract terms are just ghosts in a rotten tomb.

"The Saint is an empty name.

"Get rid of your bondages, shed off your harness and bridle, throw off your burden: just be a good man.

"Go and take a rest from further seeking."

(2) I-Hsüan (义玄) (d. 867) (临济)

"I have nothing to give you. I only cure your sickness & unbind your bondage.

"Kill everybody & everything in your way! If the Buddha is in your way, kill the Buddha. If the Patriarch is in your way, kill the Patriarch. If your father & mother are in your way, kill them too! Be free!"

The Methodology

1. Don't Tell (不说破)
"What I say is mine own: it has nothing to do with you." (灵祐)
2. The Enigmatic gestures & questions & answers (禅机)
(1) 拳头，还会么?
(2) 三宝 (禾，麦，豆)
(3) 日就窗？窗就日？惟政答："长老，房里有客，回去罢！"
3. 行脚 (Travelling on foot)
(Learning by one's own experience: by widening one's experience.)

The story told by Fa Yen (法演) (d. 1104) to illustrate the methodology of Ch'an:

There was a man who made his livelihood by being an expert thief and burglar. He was a Master Burglar.

He had a son, who one day said to his father: "Father, I am old enough to learn a trade. Teach me your trade."

The father said: "Good."

That night, the father took his son to a big house, where the Master Burglar bore a big hole through the wall. Father & son went in and came to a large cabinet. The father opened the lock and told the son to go into the cabinet which was full of valuable robes & silk.

As soon as the son got in, the father locked the door of the cabinet and made quite a noise to arouse the people in the house.

He quietly got out by the same way he entered, and went home.

The men & women in the great house got up & searched the house. They found a hole on the wall, but apparently nothing was lost.

Meanwhile, the son in the cabinet was worried. "Why did my father do this?"

But he soon realized that the important problem was to get out.

So he imitated the sound little rats biting and chewing clothes. Very soon a lady outside heard this and told a maid to open the lock and look into the cabinet with a candle.

As soon as the door was unlocked, the boy pushed the maid to the floor, put out the candlelight, and rushed to the hole on the wall. He got out and ran for his life.

The men of the house chased after him.

On the way, the son came to a small pond of water. He picked up a big stone and threw it into the water, making quite a noise as if a man had jumped into it.

The people pursuing him heard the noise, and thought the thief had fallen into the water. So they searched the pond for his body.

The young Burglar took a bypath and ran home.

When he saw his father, he shouted: "Father, why did you lock me up in that cabinet?"

The father said nonchalantly, "Don't ask any silly question. Tell me how you got out."

The son told what had happened.

When the father heard the story, he nodded his head and said: "My son, you have learned the trade."

External Attacks on Buddhism took 3 main lines:

1. That it was a Barbarian religion—the nationalistic attack.
2. That it was a religion of Parasites—who eat without sowing & plowing, who must be clothed without themselves spinning & weaving.—The Economic Attack.
3. That it was untrue—the philosophical attack.
   (1) Fan Chên (范缜) (c. 450-c. 515)
   Szu-ma Kuang (d. 1086)
   (2) Han Yü (d. 824)

Critics from the Outside

1. Ku Huan (顾欢, d. about 485)
著《夷夏论》"Essay on Chinese and Barbarian Religions"
Representative of the Nationalistic Reaction to Indianization
Ku Huan was a 道士, one of the manufacturers of the Taoist Canon.

The persecutions were largely based on this "nationalistic reaction" to a "Barbarian religion."

(1) 446 (Wei) (太武帝)
(2) 574 (North Chou) (周武帝)
(3) 845 (唐武宗)
(4) 955 (周世宗)

The Persecution of 446 by the Emperor Tai-Wu-Ti was also based on the idea that the whole religion was barbarian in origin and untruthful in content. "There was never such a thing in the Nine Divisions (Provinces, 九州) of ancient times."

"Although it was supposed to have come from the 'Hu' people, yet when we asked the Hu people, they all said that they had never had it. The whole thing came from some unscrupulous Chinese fellows, like 刘元真, 吕伯疆, who begged some nonsense from the barbarians and made it up by utilizing the ideas of Tao Tzu & Chuang Tzu. None of it is true (皆非真实)."

The edict ordered all pagodas, temples, images and scriptures to be destroyed, and all monks, old & young, be buried alive (坑之)!

傅奕 (Fu I)'s attack in ~~621~~ (武德四) was more outspoken than the earlier attacks. 当是七年(624)

His two attacks are mainly based on the thesis that China was better off before Buddhism came from a Barbarian country.

Fu I

I have studied the whole history of China, and found that, from Fu Hsi down to the founding of Han, 29 dynasties with over 400 rulers, there was only the worship of the Supreme God at the open Altar (郊祀上帝), and the result was government was good and the people well cared.

I have never heard that the establishment of a dynasty and the pacification of a nation can be attained through the building of temples & monasteries and the casting of copper images.

I therefore propose that the barbarian Buddhas and their "depraved religion" (邪教) be sent back to India, and all monks be returned to their home districts; that all those who evaded taxation should be made to pay their taxes, and those who escaped from the required labor should be taught to work.

……

2. Fan Chên (范缜, c. 450-c. 515), the only important Chinese thinker (who was trained in the classical tradition under the great scholar Liu Hsien, 刘瓛 d. 489) to attack the Buddhistic thought in any effective way.

He took his stand against Buddhism on two separate occasions.

(1) When he was with the Budd. Patron, the Prince of Ching-Ling (萧子良) (who died 494), he attacked the idea of karma (因果), or causal law of Retribution.

"If you do not believe in the causal retribution, how do you explain the fact that some are rich & honored, & others are poor & lowly?"

Fan Chên said:

"Life may be likened to the flowers on one tree. They come from the same source, the same root & trunk. When the flowers are blown off the tree by a strong wind, some of them knock on the screens and fall on the matted floor and on the embroidered cushions, while other flowers are blown over the fences and over the wall, and are dropped by the side of the dump-heap.

"Your Highness is like those flowers on the mat and on the cushion.

"Your humble servant is like those dropped by the dump-heap.

"There is the difference in honor & lowliness. But where is the causal chain?"

(2) Contrary to historical records, it was many years later, probably in the early years of the 6th century, under the reign of Liang Wu-Ti, that he wrote the "Essay on the Destructibility or Mortality of the Soul."

> "The body and the soul are one & the same thing. The soul lasts as long as the body lasts. When the body is destroyed, the soul is gone.
>
> "The body is the material [basis] of the soul. The soul is the functioning of the body.
>
> "The soul is to its material basis what sharpness is to a sharp knife. The body is to its functioning what the knife is to its sharpness…. We have never heard sharpness of a blade can survive the destruction of the knife. How can we admit the existence of the soul without the body?"

Szu-ma Kuang (d. 1086), the Historian-Statesman,—"When the body is destroyed and the soul disintegrated, what is left there to suffer in Hell such horrible torture as chiseling, burning in boiling oil, pounding and grinding?"

Han Yü (d. 824)

In 819, the Court sent a special messenger to greet the "Buddha's bone-relic" from 凤翔 to the palace. When it arrived, it was carried to the Imperial Palace where it was kept and worshipped for days. Then it was sent to the different temples & monasteries which, by turn, enshrined it for public view & worship. The popular enthusiasm & fanaticism thus roused were such that every day thousands of people crowded to the temples, all giving money & jewelry, many burning a finger as sacrifice.

Han Yü presented a famous memorial to the throne, frankly said: "I am ashamed of it."

He said:

> "The Buddhist religion is a system of the Barbarians.
>
> "Buddha was only a man in a Barbarian country, who knew nothing of Chinese language & culture, nothing of the Chinese moral code.
>
> "If he were alive, and should come to China as an Ambassador of his country, Your Majesty would at most grant him one audience, give him a dinner, confer on him a present, and send him away under a special guard of protection. Certainly he would not be permitted to deceive the populace with his depraved ideas.
>
> "Now he is long dead. How should his unclean bones be allowed to enter the Forbidden areas of the Palaces?
>
> "I am really ashamed of this. Therefore I beg the Throne to order this bone-relic to be thrown into water or burned in fire, so that it may not continue to deceive & mislead the people.…
>
> "If the Buddha should have the power to make trouble or cause disaster, let all calamities befall your humble servant, who shall never regret it."

In this memorial, he cited the case of the first Emperor of the Liang Dynasty who, during his long reign of 48 years (502-549), was a most devout Buddhist, refused to use animals as sacrifices to the ancestors, and practiced vegetarianism in most austere manner. "Yet, in the end, he was made a prisoner by the Rebel General Hou Ching, and died of starvation. And his Dynasty was soon terminated. He worshipped the Buddha in the hope of being blessed. But he only got disaster and calamity.

"This historic example should convince all that the Buddha is not worthy of worship."

He has been respected in history for his heroic attack on Buddhism in 819; but he is best remembered by all who could read, for his great essay《原道》("On the True Way").

In this essay, he points out that the Chinese Way is a way of human life and human social & political relationships, while the way of the Buddhists is to teach men to abandon the relationships of the family, and the state, and to give up the way of human living and mutual support by honest work, in order to attain what they consider the objective of annihilation and release.

In this essay, he quoted a passage from an ancient work, known as "The Great Learning," a short essay of about 1,700 words, one of the 40 odd books of the *Li Chi*. This passage says:

> "The ancients, wishing to make known the illustrious virtues throughout the world, first ordered well their own states.
>
> "Wishing to order well their own states, they first regulated their own families.
>
> "Wishing to regulate their own families, they first cultivated their own persons.
>
> "Wishing to cultivate their persons, they first rectified their own hearts (minds).
>
> "Wishing to rectify their hearts (minds), they first sought to be sincere in their thoughts."

Han Yü, after quoting this long passage, commented:

> "It is therefore clear that what the ancient Chinese called 'the rectification of the mind and the making sincere of the thoughts' was a preparation for doing things (将以有为也)."

Now, the Buddhists who claim to cultivate their mind, want to cast aside the family, the state & the world,—they want the son not to own his father, the minister not to own his sovereign, and the people not to attend to their honest work!

[That is the way of the Barbarian.]

According to the principle of Confucius, any Chinese state practicing Barbarianism shall be considered Barbarian.

Now, we have been placing the way of the Barbarian over & above the way of the Chinese ancient sages.

"This is tantamount to subjecting China under barbarization."

At the end of this essay, he asks: "What is to be done?" And he frankly answered:

> "Return their men to humanity. Burn their books. Convert their temples to human housing. And make known the way of the ancient sages for their guidance, and make it possible for the widowed, the childless, the fatherless, the sick & the crippled, to be properly cared for and supported. That may be the way to do it."

The greatest persecution of 845
Destroyed 4600 temples, 40,000 monasteries & nunneries.
Forced 260,000 monks & nuns to secular life.
Confiscated millions of acres of land.
Converted 150,000 servants & dependents of the church to tax-paying subjects of the Empire. The Edict says:

> "The government cannot abandon the human beings of the Middle Kingdom to the life-denying (无生) way of a foreign country."

But, in a few years, Buddhism came back, not with the old splendor & grandeur, but with as great force as ever before, and with an added fascination of martyrdom!
Another persecution took place in 955, the last of the 4 great persecutions.

But the later Chinese thinkers (after 1000) learned to do better. They took the hint from the last sentence of Han Yü's《原道》:

> "Make known the way of the Ancient Sages for the guidance of the people."

Persecutions did not do the work.
Nor did the attempt of an Essay, native religion—Taoism—do the work.
The 天书 of 1008 brought the Medieval Age to an ignoble and ignominious end.

古文运动 The Movement of Classical Revival

When Han Yü died in 824, his friend Li Ao composed a "Sacrificial Invocation 祭文," in which he praised the dead scholar for two great achievements: ① He attacked the Buddhist & Taoist teachings and re-established the teaching of Confucius & Mencius; ② He reformed the literary fashion of the centuries since the best days of the Han Dynasty (100 B.C.) by reviving the classical style based upon the great classics.

Later, historians praised Han Yü's literary style as "having put new life into literature as it has been decaying throughout the Eight Dynasties." 文起八代之衰：魏 晋 宋 齐 梁 陈 隋 唐

But Li Ao was more accurate in his recognition of the two-fold contribution of Han Yü.

The Classical Revival or Renaissance was more than a literary reform: it was a conscious revival of both the classical language & literature and the moral, political & philosophical content of the Classical Age, esp. of the Confucianist School as the only effective weapon & method for eradicating the 1000 years of Indianization.

As a movement of Literary Reform, it was directed against the peculiar fashion of medieval Chinese style of composition both in prose and in verse, consisting of

① 四字句的散文
② “四六”的散文
③ 对偶　悲落叶于劲秋，
　　喜柔条于芳春。
④ 对偶的诗 (律诗)
⑤ 声韵的拘束

The new movement aims at the revival of the prose style as represented in the simple and straight-forward language of the Confucian *Analects*, *Mencius*, *Tso Chuan*, & Szu-ma Ch'ien's *History*.

This is now called *Ku Wen* (古文).

The greatest masters were Han Yü (d. 824) and Liu Chung-yuan (d. 819).

It was revived with even greater force in the 11th century. The great masters were:

Ou-yang Hsiu (d. 1072)
Wang An-shih (d. 1086)
Su Shih (d. 1101)

But the movement was also a conscious revival of the Classical (Confucianist) thought & institutions. It was negatively a deliberate revolt against Buddhism & Indianization. Positively it was for a revival of Chinese, secular Confucianist teaching.

Han Yü consciously emulated the example of Mencius whose successor he aspired to be.

He frankly said that Mencius' work in attacking the heresies of his age (杨，墨) was as great as the great Yü (禹) who was supposed to have achieved the salvation of China from the Deluge.

And he pointed to the main objective: To promote all cultivation of the individual character by means of rectifying the mind (heart) and purifying the will, not for the selfish motive of achieving the salvation of soul by escaping the world & denying life & its responsibilities, but for the purpose of better preparing the individual to undertake his social & political responsibilities.

In 821, he wrote to a friend (孟尚书简) that he was as determined as ever in opposing & attacking Buddhism & Taoism and in re-establishing the truth as taught by Confucius & Mencius. “I know how foolhardy I must appear in pitching my humble strength against these established forces and in risking my own life in doing it. But, if the truth (道) could be revived & perpetuated, however feebly, through my own effort, I would gladly suffer ruin & death ten thousand times without regret. The gods on high shall be my witnesses; I will not retreat merely because of a little suffering!”

It was this double objective which attracted & inspired many a leader in the subsequent ages.

In the 10th century, a scholar by the name of Liu Kai (柳开) (died 1001) went about the country peddling copies of the work of Han Yü. He gave himself the name of “Chien Yü” (肩愈) (Shouldering Han Yü).

In the 11th century, another scholar, Shih Chieh (石介, 1005-1045) wrote three

essays on "The Three Monstrosities" (《怪说》). They are:

① 佛
② 道
③ 杨亿's literary style

The Age of Classical Renaissance was in the air.

① Book printing
② Rise of private academies
③ Government promotion of education
④ Long peace (975-1125)

Li Ao 李翺 (c. 774-c. 836) wrote at the age of 28 (802) a series of 3 Essays—《复性书》(Essays on the Restoration of One's Nature) in which he quoted the *Book of Change*, the *Chung Yung*, the *Ta Hsüeh*, the *Analects*, & the *Yüeh Chi* (《乐记》) as basis for his main thesis that one's original goodness can be restored by warding off or suppressing the feelings & desires.

"Men are born quiet, that is their original nature." (*Yüeh Chi*)

From the *Book of Change* (or its early commentary attributed to Confucius), Li got the formula "寂然不动，感而遂通天下之故," which in the original book only applied to the Divining Tortoise Shell and the Divining Sticks:

> "The *Book of Change* thinks not, nor does anything. All quietness, it moves not. When 'affected' (感) (or touched), it understands all matters of the world."

This formula is now applied to describe the "mind" 心!

Li Ao also first took up the sentence 致知在格物 and gave one of the earliest definitions: 格，来也，至也。

> "When things 'come,' the mind is all clear, is capable of distinction and analysis, and is not carried away by them. That is extending knowledge: that is the higher extent of knowledge."

Most interesting is his lament that "while all these ancient books on Human Nature and Human Destiny (性命) still exist, they are not understood by the scholars who have all gone to the Taoists & Buddhists. And the ignorant even say that the followers of our great master are not capable of understanding the truth about human nature and destiny."

Li Ao elsewhere said:

> "What Buddhism has taught, is already said in the books of *Chuang Tzu* and *Lieh Tzu*. What is not found there, is the way of the Barbarians." (《去佛斋论》)

The Story of 天书 (The *Book of Heaven*)

In 1008, the Emperor Chên Chung (meaning the Immortalized Emperor) told

the whole court that, a month before, he had seen a Messenger from Heaven who told him that, on an appointed day in the 1st month, a Written Message would come down from Heaven. He had prepared himself for over a month for its reception.

On that day, it was reported that a piece of yellow silk, over 20 feet long, was seen hanging on the roof of one of the palaces, and that the silk seemed to be part of a wrapping for something like a scroll or book.

The Emperor said: "Ah, the Heavenly Message has come!" Amidst congratulatory applauses, the Emperor walked on foot to the place, bowed twice, and sent two eunuchs to climb up the high roof and take down the Message.

The Prime Minister, Wang Tan (王旦), knelt down & received it and presented it to the Emperor who put it in a carriage and himself led the carriage back to the Palace Altar where it was opened.

The Message consisted of 3 sheets of writings on silk, praising the Emp., urging him to continue in his good conduct, & promising him long & prosperous reign.

In the 4th month, a second Book came—again in the Palace.

In the 6th month, a third Book appeared on the Sacred Mountain, Tai Shan.

Then began a series of Imperial pilgrimages to the various sacred shrines of old Siniticism & medieval Taoism. The Prime Minister always led the Imperial Processions, holding reverently the *Book of Heaven*!

That was the melodramatic & comic epilogue of the Medieval Age. It was staged with clumsy fraud & poor taste. The fraud was so apparent that no loud comment was necessary.

The motive behind the myth of the *Books of Heaven* was a desire on the part of the Emperor to cover up the failure of his military campaign against the Kitan Tartars (Liao) in 1004 and the Peace Treaty of 1005, under which peace was obtained by an annual subsidy to the Tartars.

Chapter 4
The Age of Rational Philosophy

The Two Reform Movements of the 11th Century

1. The First Reform under the Leadership of Fan Chung-yen (1043-1045)

Fan (989-1052), one of the greatest men of the age, was famous for his saying that "A scholar ought to worry (over the problems of the time) before anyone else begins to worry (about them), and ought to enjoy life only after everybody else has enjoyed life."

2. The Second Reform or "New Deal" (新法) Movement under the Leadership of Wang An-shih (1069-1085)

Wang An-shih (1021-1086) was able to win the complete confidence of the Emperor Shên-Chung (1068-1085) who supported his program of reforms whole-heartedly.

Wang An-shih was famous for the saying (attributed to him by his enemies) that "The Ancestors (Founding Fathers) are not good enough to be set up as our models. The criticisms by opponents need not be heeded. And even the wrath of Heaven needs not be feared."

Realizing that Imperial confidence could not be long relied upon, Wang An-shih's reforms were carried out in great haste. And because of the strong opposition & criticism from a large number of influential leaders who were conservative in their political & economic views but who were highly respected by the nation as good & honest men,—the Reform Government had to rely upon a large number of "New Dealers" who enthusiastically supported the reform measures, but who were viewed by the conservatives with suspicion & distrust.

The Emperor died in 1085, his son was a young boy, and the Empress-Dowager became Regent. She called the Opposition Leader, Szu-ma Kuang (1019-1086), the historian and philosopher, to head the government.

In one year's time, all the New Deal laws were repealed, and all reforms were abolished.

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Szu-ma Kuang died in 1086. But the Reaction lasted till 1093 when the Empress-Dowager died. The younger Emperor wanted to revive his father's great reforms and called back a number of the New Dealers of his father's time.

But the great Wang An-shih had died (1086), and the second New Deal was more noted for its bitter revenge & persecution than for its spirit of reform. The great soul who had inspired the Reforms was gone!

A new & more formidable foreign enemy was rising in the North-east, the Jurjen (Ju-chen 女真) Tartars who defeated and conquered the Liao (Kitans) in 1114. In 1125, the Jurjen (Chin 金) invaders marched southward and captured the Capital of Kaifeng in 1126. The last two emperors of the (Northern) Sung Dynasty were taken prisoners.

The whole of North China came under foreign rule for nearly 250 years (1126-1369).

It was from the Opposition Party to the New Deal that came all the great leaders of the Rational Philosophy Movement.

The real leader of Rational Philosophy was Szu-ma Kuang; and all the acknowledged leaders of the philosophical movement belonged to the opposition to the New Deal.

(1) Shao Yung (1011-1077)
(2) Ch'eng Hao (1032-1085)
(3) Ch'eng I (1033-1107)
were friends of Szu-ma Kuang.
(4) Chou Tun-i (1017-1073)
was teacher of the Ch'eng brothers.
(5) Chang Tsai (1020-1077)
was a distant relation of the Ch'eng brothers.

The New Deal wanted to do things. Wang An-shih frankly advocated a philosophy of action (有为).

The Opposition led by Szu-ma Kuang frankly preached the ancient doctrine of *wu-wei* (无为).

It was no mere historical accident that Rational Philosophy was called Tao Hsüeh (道学), "the Tao School." In its opposition to political & economic reforms, in its advocacy of natural evolution & slow change through the long-term process of education & philosophy, it was just as Taoistic as it claimed to be Confucianist.

Of the Founding Fathers of Rationalism, only Ch'eng I lived long enough to suffer the political persecution under the second New Deal (from 1094 on). He and his friends & disciples were among those proscribed in the great Proscription List of 1102. His School was prohibited by the government: his followers were barred from government service.

But in the course of a few decades, this prohibited school became the most influential school of thought in the country—and this influence has lasted 800 years.

In 1070, Szu-ma Kuang (1019-1086) wrote 3 letters to Wang An-shih, frankly criticizing the New Deal government. In his first letter, he recalled that Wang was fond of the *Book of Lao Tzu*, and reminded him that the New Deal was a policy of governmental interference and regimentation which was diametrically opposed to the political philosophy of non-activity & non-interference as taught by Lao Tzu.

Wang An-shih wrote two letters in reply, only one of which is preserved. In this

reply, Wang said:

> "If you blame me for having not done enough in assisting the Emperor for the benefit of the people, then, I would admit my failures. But if you tell me that I must do nothing and must make no change in the policy of the government, then I must say that I do not understand you."

This is the fundamental conflict between the New Deal & its opposition: it is active reform vs. non-action.

Szu-ma Kuang wrote a little work entitled *Book of the Roundabout Way* (《迂书》), and he signed himself "The Fellow of the Roundabout Way" (迂夫). In this work, he defined and defended "the Roundabout Way."

> "You only know that the Roundabout Way or the Long Way is useless. But you do not see that it is the most useful way.
>
> "Have you not seen the planter of trees? When you cut the tree of one year old, it is only good for firewood. Wait five years, and it will be good enough for a pillar. Wait ten years, and it will be good enough to be a central beam.
>
> "Therefore, the longest way is the most useful way.
>
> "...A man like myself is only worried that he may not take the longest and most circuitous way. I am not worried about my roundaboutness!"

In this same work, Szu-ma Kuang also expounded his philosophy of conservatism. He said:

> "Are the Heaven & the Earth today different from ancient times? Are all things in the universe today different from ancient times? Is human nature today different from ancient times?
>
> "Heaven & earth have not changed. The sun & the moon have not changed. Things have not changed. Human nature has not changed.
>
> "Why should the way or the truth change?"

Another fundamental conflict is that Szu-ma Kuang [and] his friends believed, probably very sincerely, that political & economic reforms are superficial—not fundamental—and cannot go deep and cannot effect permanent improvement of man.

In his little *Book of the Roundabout Way*, he says:

> "The gentleman looks after the mind (heart). The little man takes care of the externalities. (君子治心，小人治迹。)
>
> "Studies are for the sake of governing the mind. What is the use of much learning if it does not help taking care of the mind?"

In this little work, there are two interesting stories:

① I had a bad tooth-ache, which made me groan a whole night. A Taoist priest said to me: "Do you know the cause of your ailment?"

"No," said I.

"Your ailment comes from nature. Nature is feeding your tooth to the worms. And you are resisting nature. But how can you resist nature! Leave it to nature and to the worms." So I resolved to give my tooth to the worms. Thereupon, I slept soundly. And the next day, my tooth-ache was gone.

② One night, my hand was stung by a poisonous wasp. I felt the pain very badly. So my family sent for a sorcerer or Healer, who came and said to me: "Try not to think that the wasp is poisonous. Try to convince yourself that it is just an ordinary small insect. And say to yourself: 'How could this little insect sting me and give me pain!'"

Well, I followed his advice, and said to myself that there was no poisonous sting, and no pain. And forthwith the pain was gone!

The same work contains a short verse entitled "In Praise of *Wu-wei*" (《无为赞》):

> "Rule your mind by correctness.
> Protect your body by quietude.
> Right should govern advancement or retirement.
> And Fate (*-ming*) determines gain or loss.
> It is within one's power to keep to the true path.
> But success or failure lies with Heaven.
> Why should one strive to do things? 夫复何为?
> There is nothing but becomes so of itself!" 莫非自然。

In all these simple passages, we are really learning about the chief characteristics of Rational Philosophy which called itself "The Philosophy of the Tao" (道学).

(1) It is naturalistic in general cosmology.

(2) It is laissez-faire & non-active in politics.

(3) It claims to be taking the long view of things, and it prides itself in being circuitous, roundabout, and never taking short-cuts.

(4) It has a contempt for external things which it considers non-essential: it aims to be introspective and to control the mind and the heart.

(5) Of course, it does not admit that it is a philosophy of standing pat. But it frankly confesses that human nature, like Heaven & Earth, the sun & the moon, does not change. It claims to be historically-minded and frowns at radical change and reform.

Why should this more passive type of philosophy become the orthodoxy of the philosophical movement of the age?

Why did the active and positive philosophy of men like Wang An-shih fail to achieve the position of orthodoxy?

The historical explanation is that, under monarchical government in a large unified empire, "the roundabout way" was the line of least of resistance—the more natural mode of thought in a social & political situation wherein the action of the intellectual class was much limited. Political power was always dependent upon imperial trust and confidence which was rare and never lasting and never fully reliable. In short, there was never much freedom of action on the part of the political reformer.

Under such circumstances, the intelligentsia tended to find its escape, not in action, but in the realm of the mind. And it finds its refuge and excuse in the so-called the long view—the "roundabout way."—"The gentleman looks after the mind.

The little man takes care of external things."

Thus the philosophers turned away from the external things and took refuge in the inner world of the mind, the spirit, wherein there is some measure of independence and freedom.

The philosophers comforted themselves by the thought that herein is "the roundabout" but the most effective way, in the long run, for the gradual improvement of social & political conditions of the country and of the world.

This is why the movement of classical revival resulted in the development of Rational Philosophy when it had failed in positive & external reforms.

Shao Yung

The two earliest representatives of the philosophers were genuinely Taoistic: Shao Yung (1011-1077) and Chou Tun-i (1017-1073).

Shao Yung was a poet who wrote his verses in a very simple and plain language almost near the spoken language of the people.

In his poems, he sang his praises of nature, sang of the joys of life, of his own good fortune of being born a man, esp. a man of China, and in particular a man to have the luck of living in the city of Lo Yang!

He found nothing wrong in the world.

> "God is in His Heaven,
> All is right with the world."

His only complaint is that the New Deal government has made it hard for him to get his supply of wine!

He knows some mathematics which he tries to apply to history and cosmology. Some of his applications of the idea of number are ridiculously crude.

He worked out a chronology from the 1st year of Yao (2357 B.C.) to the end of the Five Dynasties (959 A.D.) to test out his idea of Historical cycles.

He re-arranged the 64 Kua of the *Book of Change* in accordance with his system of numbers.

He conceived of the universe as having come from the *yang* & *yin* (Male & Female, Active & Passive) principles or forces.

He left a collection of short paragraphs & sentences under the title of 观物 (*kuan-wu*) "Viewing Things."

This title is characteristic of his attitude toward the world: it was the attitude of a spectator, who looks at the world from the outside—from a detached & disinterested standpoint: "To view things from the standpoint of the things themselves, but not from my subjective standpoint."

It sounds big & fine. But he never tells how to do it.

Shao Yung represents one of the links between the medieval religions and the classical philosophical revival. He was interpreting or re-interpreting classical thought with the aid of medieval Taoistic thought.

Chou Tun-i

Chou Tun-i (1017-1073) was another Taoistic thinker. His Diagram:

① From "the No-Ultimate" to "the Great Ultimate"

② The Ultimate moves and there is produced the Active Principle.

③ Movement ultimately ends in Rest wherein is produced the principle of Passivity.

④ By the combination of Activity & Passivity, there are produced the 5 Elements.

⑤ By the working of the "Two" (二) [principles] and the "5" (五) [elements], there are formed the Male and the Female.

⑥ From the mutual affection of the male & the female, all living beings are produced.

⑦ Man is the highest form resulting from "change."

⑧ The Sages "sets up [the state of] Rest (= non-movement = 'no desire' 无欲) and thereby establishes 'the Human Ultimate' (人极)."

The notion of "setting up the state of no-motion or Rest (Quiet) as 'the Human Ultimate'" shows the influence of the medieval religions, and has strangely great influence over the thinking of later ages.

Chou himself says: "No desire, therefore quiet." 无欲故静
In his other work—"通书"—there is this passage:

> "Can one learn to be a sage?"
> "Yes, one can."
> "Is there an essential way to this?"
> "Yes, there is."
> "What is it?"
> "The essential way is one-ness (一). One-ness means no desire."

Here we should note ① that the ideal is to attain sagehood—just as the Buddhist ideal is to attain Buddhahood, & the Taoist ideal, to attain the state of 仙人; and ② that the path to this attainment is the same as the monastic ideal of suppression of desire.

Chou claims to go back to Mencius who said: "For the nurture of the mind, nothing is better than to have few desires (寡欲)."

"I say," said Chou, "that for the nurture of the mind, it is not enough to have few desires. Desires must diminish and finally be actively extinguished.

"When one has no desire, one achieves sincerity and understanding (诚立, 明通). Sincerity makes the good man (贤), and understanding makes the wise man (圣)."

Ch'eng Hao

Ch'eng Hao (1032-1085) was a man of brilliant intellect, who achieved high

honors in the Civil Service Examinations in his early twenties. He was a very good magistrate and a very good judge. During the early years of the New Deal, he was an official in the central government, but was openly critical of the Reform measures.

In a memorial to the throne, Ch'eng Hao pointed out that "the great foundations of government, the essential principles of shepherding the people, the basic needs of the people, and the 'eternal verities,'—these things do not change with the passing of time."

Because of his opposition to the New Deal, he was moved to posts outside the Capital. He died shortly before his friends returned to power & overthrew the New Deal policies.

Ch'eng Hao (d. 1085) is described by his younger brother as maintaining a most uncompromising attitude toward the Medieval religions:

> "That the truth is not made known is because it has been endangered & damaged by the heresies. The older dangers were simple & easy to know. The present-day dangers go deeper and are more difficult to analyze. In the old days, heresies appealed to people through their ignorance. But the modern heresies are bewitching those who are the most enlightened & intelligent.
>
> "These heresies claim to be able to penetrate into the mysteries of nature and nature's changes, but in reality they are no good for doing practical things and achieving human ends.
>
> "They claim to cover every thing, but in fact they are outside the relations of men. They talk big and sublime, but are no help to the achievement of the ideals of government of the ancient sages….
>
> "All forms of depraved, untruthful and monstrous doctrines have come up, blinding the eyes & deafening the ears of men, and causing mankind to sink deeper & deeper into the muddy uncleanness. Even the best talented minds are caught unawares by the fashion of the times and are living as if in drunkenness & dying as if in a dream, without ever waking up.
>
> "These are the thorns and thistles in the path to the Door of the Sages. They must be cleared away before the people can be brought back to the right path.
>
> "I have asked the Buddhists how many monks are recorded in the *Ch'uan-Teng-Lu* (*The Transmitters of the Lamp of the Law*, a genealogical biographical history of Ch'an Buddhism, completed in 1009 A.D.). They tell me that it contains 1,700 biographical entries.
>
> "I dare say that, of the 1,700, none has seen the truth. If there had been one who had seen the truth as taught by such men as Confucius and his Disciples, that one would have asked for a piece of cloth to cover his shaved head before he died, and would not have died a Buddhist monk!"

But what did Ch'eng Hao teach to take the place of Buddhism & Ch'annism?

He proposed (in 1068) a system of education which "was to be based on the relations of man—of the family, society and the state,—and the understanding (明) of the reason (law) of things (物理). Teaching should begin with the elementary school where the child should learn to perform such labor as sweeping the floor and cleansing the house, as well as to answer questions from the teacher. From such simple beginnings, teaching should proceed to include moral conduct, family & social duties, arts and manners. The procedure should be gradual &

graded. The essential principle should be education for the ability to make moral choice in conduct (择善), for the cultivation of the individual person, and for the moral improvement of the nation,—in short, for enabling the unlettered rustic child to attain step by step the ways of the sages."

His proposal includes details regarding the organization of a national educational system from the local school to the provincial college & the national university. Education should not only be free, but the promising students should be given scholarship subsidies, and exempt from conscript service. This educational system is to be closely associated with the Civil Service; but the selection of men for governmental service should be based on moral character & practical competence, as well as merely book knowledge and literary style.

[The Civil Service Examination had long become purely literary, and detailed methods had been worked out to safeguard the examinations from favoritism & fraud. Methods of 糊名 and 誊录 (sealing the name & copying the original paper) had been adopted early in the 11th century.]

[It was so "objective" that it became actually "mechanical." No other criterion than literary merit is possible.]

[Reform of the examination was proposed by Wang An-shih as a part of his New Deal. The New Deal reforms in education were more practical, at least in their professed objectives. They ① substituted the knowledge of the Confucianist Classics for the poetic & literary compositions; and ② broadened the scope of higher education by including Law, Medicine, Mathematics, Military Arts in the curriculum of the national university.]

[The conservative scholars, however, did not like the broadened curriculum. They wanted a classical education with special emphasis on moral character,—an educational system which would "enable the unlettered rustic gradually to attain the ways of the sages."]

This long-term educational program may be said to be the central idea in the Opposition Movement.

That was their "Roundabout Way"—the long way.

As a philosopher, Ch'eng Hao was still much under the influence of the medieval religions,—both Buddhism & Taoism.

His ideal was the attainment of the sagehood (圣人).

His method was meditation (静坐) and reverence (敬).

He is said "to sit all day long in reverential attitude, just like a man made of clay." He and his brother Ch'eng I always gave praise to students who could sit in meditation.

Szu-ma Kuang, the historian-statesman, too, wanted to control the mind by meditation. He tried to do this by concentrating his mind on the abstract word or idea, 中, "the mean."

The Ch'eng brothers ridiculed this method as similar to the Buddhists' use of the rosary. They thought that just "being reverential" (主敬) was enough.

What did he see in reverential meditation?

He saw that there is a Universal Reason in all things in the universe. This he calls the Divine Reason (天理). He says:

"The two words, *tien li* (天理), are the results of my own meditation & experience.

"All good & evil are part of Divine Reason. Evil is only either excess or deficiency: it is not inherently bad.

"All contradictions, all opposites, are part of Divine Reason. There are the *yin* and the *yang*; the active and the passive; the male and the female; the good & the evil. The up & down, the this and that (彼此).

"All are natural. All are rational. There is no conscious design for all this. When I think of this, in the stillness of mid-night, I cannot help feeling so happy that my hands wave in the air and my feet dance."

As a matter of historical fact, the idea of 天理 comes out of the 19th Book of *Li Chi*, entitled *Yüeh Chi*, *The Book on Music*, in which there occurs this passage:

Man is born quiet: that is his nature. He becomes active (moving) when affected by eternal things: that comes the desire of his nature. When things come, they are perceived by the knowing intellect. Thereupon there arise like and dislike, affection & aversion.

When affection & aversion are not regulated internally, and when knowledge tempts him externally, then, if he cannot return to his self, there will die out the *tien li*. [The Han commentator, Chêng Hsüan, says: "*Li* (理) is the same as *hsing* (nature)." Therefore, *tien li* here means "the Divine Nature" of man which is supposed to be quiet.]

There is no limit to the things that affect men. And a man's affection and aversion are usually not regulated. Therefore, man is carried away by the things that come to him.

For a man to be carried away by things, that means the extinguishing of *tien li* (Divine Nature) and the indulgence in human desires (人欲) (*jen yü*).

This passage is the source of the two words 天理 and 人欲.

From this he arrives at the conception that the whole universe is one, and that man is at one with the universe. The universe, like the individual man, is alive, full of the same stuff & vitality that constitutes man.

This is his conception of 仁 (*jen*), which to Ch'eng Hao, means universal vitality and universal rationality.

He says:

"The medical books call a paralyzed hand or foot by the term '*pu-jen*' (不仁). That is most descriptive. *Jen* means the union-in-one of Heaven & Earth and all things else. All are part of myself. Any part of the universe that is not myself, is like a paralyzed hand or foot, wherethrough no longer runs the *ch'i* (气) of life.

"Philosophy is the ability to see this union of the self with the universe: to see this universal Reason & universal Vitality.

"When this fundamental principle is once grasped, it is only necessary to keep and nurture it by sincerity and reverence.

"There is no need for being constantly on guard; nor is there any need for constant search and seeking.

"The truth is so simple (约). Live it and enjoy it. That's all."

In a famous letter to his philosophical cousin & friend, Chang Tsai, on the problem of how to calm or quiet one's nature (空性), Ch'eng Hao made these remarks:—

"What is called 空 (calm or calming) means calm in movement & in rest. …

"It is the nature (常) of Heaven & Earth that they permeate all things with their mind but they have no mind of their own. And it is the nature of the sages that they respond (顺) to all matters (事) with their feelings (情) but they have no feelings of their own.

"Therefore, the gentleman should best learn [so to train his mind as] to be all open and all just, so that, when things come before him, he will respond to them properly. (廓然而大公，物来而顺应。)

"…In general, the trouble often lies in selfishness and a desire to use one's own cleverness (用智).

"…Try to forget the distinction between the things outside and the mind inside, and you will achieve the tranquility of doing nothing (无事). Doing nothing leads to calm (空). Calm leads to understanding (明). Now, with understanding, how can there be any difficulty in responding to matters and things? …

"Of all human emotions, anger is the easiest to burst out and the most difficult to control. If we, at moments of anger, can forget the anger and try to see the right and wrong in the reason (理) of things, then, we will be able to see that external temptations are not so formidable and will be nearer to the right way."

In this famous passage (for it was a very famous passage for 700 years!), we can see that our philosopher who was so vehement in attacking the medieval religions, was in fact preaching & practicing the esotericism of Buddhist monk and the Taoist priest.

His ideal was calm (空) of the mind. His method was meditation and doing nothing.

He thought that he had got away from the medieval religions, and returned to Confucianism. But he had been re-reading & re-interpreting the Confucian works by the aid of eye-glasses colored by 1000 years of Buddhism & Ch'annism and Taoism.

He and his contemporary philosophers were all fond of quoting a passage from the "Appendix" to the *Book of Change* which says:

"The *Book of Change* does not think, nor does it calculate. All silent, it moves not. Yet, when it is affected (感) [from the outside], it understands the reasons of all things in the world."

Now, these words are eulogistic descriptions of the dead tortoise shells and the dried grass stalks used for divination.

But when these Rational Philosophers put on their colored eye-glasses and read these sentences, they cried out in rapture: "Ah! Here is the most sacred of Confucianist classics, we have found the best description of the human mind!"

They all ignored the subject of the sentence—and unconsciously substituted "the human mind" as the subject!

And this passage from the "Appendix" of the *B. of Change* became the scriptural basis for this passive and quietist conception of the human mind.

> "Sit in reverential meditation, and do nothing, like a man made of clay. When things come from the outside, this quiet and open mind will naturally respond to them properly."

There was another scriptural text implied in the sentence "when things come" "物来."

It came from the *Book of Great Learning*:

平天下 ← 治国 ← 齐家 ← 修身 ← 正心 ← 诚意 ← 致知 ← 格物

格物 (*ko-wu*) was never explained in the text. But it seems to hold the key to all other steps to knowledge & moral cultivation.

Li Ao, of the time of Han Yü, had made the interpretation that *ko* means "come."

Ch'eng Hao seems to have accepted this meaning and worked out a psychological theory very much similar to that of Li Ao.

When the mind is quiet and therefore clear, it will understand all things when they come!

Ch'eng I

Ch'eng I (1033-1107) outlived his brother by 22 years. He seemed to be less talented than his elder brother. Even in their childhood days, their mother, a very wise woman, predicted that the elder son would win Civil Service Examination honors at a young age, and that the younger son would remain "a retiring scholar" (处士).

But he was not willing to admit his inferiority. At the age of 18 (1050) he sent a memorial to the throne, discussing the affairs of the state, recommending himself to the Emperor and asking for an interview!

He never had received any government appointment until 1086, the year of the abolition of the New Deal. At the age of 53, he entered the Government of Szu-ma Kuang as a Special Tutor to the young Emperor.

When the Anti-New Deal Gov't fell in 1094, he was banished to a distant post. His name was among the leaders in the Proscribed List.

In 1103, at 70, he was further persecuted by the Government, and his school was closed and all his students were placed on the Proscribed List.

Both as Imperial Tutor and as a great teacher in his own school, he was noted for his austerity in manners and in discipline.

His teaching may be summed up in his own words:

> "For moral cultivation, reverence (敬) is necessary. For advancement in learning, the way lies in the extension of knowledge."

This statement has been proclaimed by later thinkers as the two-fold key to the methodology of Rational Philosophy.

"Reverence (meditation) and the extension of knowledge," says Chu Hsi, are "like the two wheels of a carriage, or the two wings of a bird."

主敬:

> "The mind must have a master (有主). How to master it? Reverence should be the master. What is reverence? It is to aim at one-ness (主一).
>
> "One-ness means not going astray.
>
> "What the ancients taught regarding the attitude of 'not daring to deceive [anyone],' 'not daring to be careless [in anything],' or 'not being ashamed to face yourself alone,'—all these are matters of reverence."

He always gave praise to those students who sat quietly in meditation. "He who is all quiet is the sage." 凝然不动，便是圣人!

But Ch'eng I seems soon to become aware that this attitude of Reverence or the method of meditation was only applicable to the sphere of moral cultivation. It is not a method of acquiring knowledge.

Being a less brilliant mind, Ch'eng I was not so sure (as his elder brother was sure) that reverential meditation alone would lead to the knowledge & understanding of the facts and relations of facts in the physical & human world.

He often admitted that, in the fight between the New Deal and the Anti-New Deal, the right and wrong were not so clearly defined as had been thought! And he admitted that, in the reaction of 1086, the party of Szu-ma Kuang had gone too far in nullifying all measures of the New Deal.

Maturer experience and reflection have led him to recognize a second and complementary path: 致知 (穷理).

穷理致知: Extension of Knowledge [to the ultimate] by exhaustive investigation into the reason of things

> "There should be intelligence (识) before action, just as there should be light to guide the traveller.
>
> "A man must first know before he can act [in his moral conduct]. It is not only difficult to act; to know is not easy. Here is a man who wants to go from here to the Capital [of Kaifeng]. He must first know to start from which gate [of Loyang] and to take what route. If he does not know these things, he cannot arrive at the Capital, however strong his intention of going there may be!"

And he began to realize that knowledge comes from thinking and doubting.

> "In the learning process, nothing is more important than thinking.
>
> "The student must first learn to doubt.
>
> "Without deep thinking, one can never arrive at the truth. What is gotten without deep thinking can be easily lost.
>
> "You will ask: How about those who arrive at the truth without thinking and without calculating?
>
> "The fact is that what was apparently arrived at without thinking and

without calculating, was in reality obtained through deep thinking. （以无思无虑而得之者，乃所以深思而得之也。）

"There is nothing as obtaining a truth 'without thinking and calculating' in the sense of 'not thinking at all (不思).'"

Here we see Ch'eng I correcting his own elder brother who had taken the passive & quietist view of the mind.

Ch'eng I, in his old age, had come to the realization that what may give the impression of knowing without thinking, is only a type of intuitive knowing which is always the cumulative result of deep thinking.

This new and more mature appreciation of knowledge & thinking leads Ch'eng I to a totally new and epoch-making definition of the phrase "格物."

In complete disregard of textual or etymological bases, he boldly laid down this definition:

格 (*ko*) = 穷 (*Ch'iung*) = investigate exhaustively
物 (*wu*) = 理 (*li*) = the reason of things
"*Ko-wu* simply means 'exhaustively investigate the reason of things.'
"Exhaustive investigation of the reason in things will lead to the extension of knowledge to the ultimate."

Compare
李翱 & 程颢 who explain 格 as "come" (来) or "arrive" (至)
司马光 who explains 格 as "guard against" and *wu* as "material desires"

(I) Scope of "*wu*" (物)

① "物 (*wu*) is not confined to human affairs (事物) or matters. It includes the reason (cause) of everything, from the individual self to the ten thousand things in the universe."

② "Broadly speaking, it includes the height of Heaven and the thickness of the earth. Minutely speaking, it comes down to the cause and 'raison d'être' of any one thing. …A single grass, or a single tree, everything has its reason, which should be studied."

③ "*Ch'iung li* (穷理) has many aspects. Either read books and expound the ideas & thoughts thereof. Or study the persons and things in history and distinguish the right & wrong thereof. Or deal with practical affairs and seek the proper ways & means for treating them. All these are *Ch'iung li*."

(II) Procedure or Method

Someone asks: "In *ko-wu*, is it necessary to investigate all things one by one? Or is it possible that by investigating one thing exhaustively, we may know everything else?" Cheng I said: "How can we hope to understand all things by merely investigating one thing exhaustively? Even a most-talented genius like Yen Hui (颜回) cannot hope to do that!

The procedure must be to investigate one thing today, another thing tomorrow, and so on. After we have accumulated enough (knowledge), there may come the time when all of a sudden, we may achieve a form of generalized understanding (有贯通处).

This "second wheel" of the twin methodology—this path of investigation into

the reason of all things—is a new path leading to a new horizon.

The "first wheel" of reverence is the path of religion. This new path is that of science.

或问："孀妇于理，似不可取，如何？"伊川先生曰："然。凡取，以配身也。若娶失节者以配身，是己失节也。"

又问："或有居孀贫穷无托者，可再嫁否？"曰："只是后世怕寒饿死，故有是说。然饿死事极小，失节事极大。"（《小学·嘉言篇》）

Chang Tsai

Ch'eng Hao apparently had much in common with his philosophical relative, Chang Tsai, who was 12 years his senior, and who apparently had early set to work out "a philosophical system," which is a rare thing among Chinese thinkers. It is most probable that Ch'eng Hao was early influenced by Chang Tsai's thinking. (Later philosophers, being largely descended from the Ch'eng brothers, often deliberately refused to admit the indebtedness of the Ch'eng brothers to Chang Tsai!)

Chang Tsai (1020-1077) and his younger brother Chang Chien (张戬) both passed the National Examinations and made good records as administrative officials. They were both called to the central government at the beginning of the New Deal. But they were both opposed to the government's policy of reform.

Especially the younger Chang was most outspoken in his opposition to the whole group of New Deal leaders, and who presented many memorials to the Throne, openly impeaching Wang An-shih and the other ministers of state. This forced the hand of the government, and the younger Chang was banished to minor posts in the provinces. He died at the age of 45. The elder brother also retired from office. He died in 1077, the 9th year of the New Deal.

Chang Tsai was a scholar of vision and had great ambition to revive the ancient culture and institutions. He often expressed his ambition in these big words: "To establish the mind of Heaven & Earth; to establish the destiny (命, or, according to another version, 极, the ultimate ideal) of man; to revive the lost teaching of the past sages; and to bring about lasting peace for ten thousand generations to come."

Of his works, the most important are:

① "Maxims on the Western Wall" (《西铭》)

② *For the Guidance of Youth* (《正蒙》)—a philosophical compendium in 17 chapters

③ *Sayings*

His "Maxims on the Western Wall" is a short essay of 253 words. It has had great influence for many centuries. It is said by Chu Hsi that the Ch'eng brothers and their disciples always used this essay as introductory teaching for their students.

This essay is a concise expression of the idea of One-ness of the Universe and Man and its moral and political implications.

It is here translated in part:

"Heaven is called Father. Earth is called Mother. This humble and insignificant self of me is placed midway between Heaven above and the Earth below. Therefore [sic] my body (material) is the same as that which fills Heaven & Earth, and my nature is the same as that which guides (帅) Heaven & Earth. [That is, man's body partakes the same *ch'i* (气) as Heaven & Earth; and man's nature partakes the same *li* (理) as Heaven & Earth.]

"All peoples are my brothers, and all [sentient] beings are my fellows & companions. (民，吾［同］胞；物，吾与也。) …

"All the sick, the tired, the crippled, the widowed, the childless, the fatherless, the homeless—are my brothers who suffer and have nowhere to appeal for sympathy.

"It is my duty as a son [of the same parentage] to give them assistance.

"And it is my filial duty to enjoy [life] and not to grief [even in distress].

……

"Wealth and honor and happiness are gifts [of nature] for the enrichment of my life. Poverty and lowliness and sorrow are grinding stones for the polishing and the making of me.

"I live my life and rest in death."

This little essay of 253 words gives us a concise statement of the Rational Philosopher's outlook of life. It is a re-statement of the Humanism of Classical China. It is a declaration of the dignity of man, the place of man in the universe, the duty of man as a Son of Heaven & Earth, as a brother of all men and a companion of all sentient beings.

Chang Tsai's book *For the Guidance of Youth* (《正蒙》) is intended to be a systematic presentation of his philosophy, beginning with the nature of the physical world and of man, and proceeding to a discussion of the moral life, education, religion, and government.

In his theory of the universe, he is frankly naturalistic and materialistic.

The basis of all things and man is *ch'i* (the ethereal, gaseous, formless, colorless matter).

The ancient Taoists were wrong in postulating the 无, non-being or empty space.

"To realize that empty space is *ch'i* means a repudiation of the concept of *wu* (non-being)." [This statement he repeats more than once, apparently with relish & pride.]

All change is natural and of necessity (不得已而然).

"Of necessity, the great void is filled with *ch'i*. Of necessity, the *ch'i* solidifies into things. Of necessity, the things disintegrate into the *ch'i*.

"All this takes place of necessity."

Chang Tsai conceived of man's nature as also consisting of the gaseous or aural matter (*ch'i* or 气质 *chi-chih*). But his language was not quite definite or clear. He says:

"When formed, man acquires the nature of the gaseous or aural matter (气质之性). If he can revert (反) it, there will appear the nature of Heaven & Earth.

> Therefore, the nature of aural matter is sometimes not regarded by the best minds (君子) as the real nature of man."

This passage is very ambiguously worded. But in the following century, Chu Hsi interpreted this passage to mean a dualistic conception of human nature. There is, according to this interpretation, the material nature and there is the rational nature which Chang called "the nature of Heaven & Earth." The former is the source of evil, the latter is purely good.

Others gave a monistic interpretation that the rational nature is not anything apart from the material nature.

The trouble lies in the use of the verb "反," to revert or reverse. Chang Tsai probably had in mind a verb meaning "convert." But his fondness of classical monosyllabic words probably led him to use the word 反.

In the same work, he says:

> "Nature (*hsing*) is natural capability (*neng*). Capability is man's effort. The great man, in fully realizing his nature, does not regard natural ability as capability, but considers only human effort as capability."

From this standpoint of emphasizing human effort rather than native ability (aptitude), we may safely say that Chang Tsai really meant to say that the great minds should not consider the material nature as the real nature of man, but should "convert" or "transform" it into something nearer to the ideal or rational nature of man.

That this is a correct interpretation, is borne out by the Ch'eng brothers who taught that "education should aim at the transformation (变化) of the material nature of man."

But the greatest contribution of Chang Tsai to the history of Chinese thought is his untiring emphasis on the importance of active thinking and creative doubt. In this respect, he was radically different from all other Sung philosophers.

Chang Tsai seemed to have discarded the quietist and passive conception of the mind as represented in Ch'eng Hao's famous letter to him.

His conception of thinking is quite modern and comes near to the Pragmatic or Instrumentalist view of Thinking.

Chang Tsai's theory of thinking is that real thinking must begin with a perplexity, a question, a doubt. Something must be done to resolve the doubt raised. Thinking does not come from quietist meditation. Thinking must involve some active "movement."

> "When a man raises no doubt at points where doubt is called for, he betrays that he has never studied. When one studies, there must be doubt. (学则须疑) The student is like a traveller who wishes to go somewhere. If he wants to go to the South Hills, he must enquire as to which road to take. If he sits still, there is no occasion for doubt.
>
> "Those who never know how to doubt, are the people who have never had to do anything practical. When you do real things, you must have occasions for doubt. When you are obstructed in doing, there arises doubt.
>
> "Doubt leads to inquiry, leads to learning. To have no doubt means to have never done any thinking.

> "Whenever you have a doubt, then wash off your old notions and opinions in order to welcome new ideas. Whenever there is a new opening in your mind, make a note of it in writing at once. If you do not think it out, that opening may be closed again.
>
> "When you can find doubt at points where ordinarily you are not inclined to doubt, then you are making progress." (于不疑处有疑，方是进矣。)

He describes active thinking as necessarily involving doing something. The man who wants to know, is like the burglar who wants to steal the treasures in a house, and who does not know where those treasures are hidden. He may try to fish some information from some bystander (which is like reading ancient books), or he may do some eavesdropping outside the door (which is like listening to learned discussions).

But the burglar will never know where the treasures are to be found, until he actually does something himself. He bores a hole through the wall and gets into the house. There is no candlelight; he cannot see where the things are. He must feel his way and move about (移动) the room in order to find out where things are.

> "Now, to feel one's way and move about the place, that is to think out everything for yourself."

That is active thinking.

Chu Hsi

Ch'eng I died in 1107. 18 yrs. later, North China was overrun by the Chin (金) Tartars—(1125).

The remnants of the Sung Dynasty set up a government in the South. This Southern Sung Dynasty lasted 150 years (1126-1276).

Early in the 13th century, a new powerful race, the Mongols, was rapidly rising in Northern Asia under the leadership of Temujin (who proclaimed himself Genghis Khan—or Jenghis Khan in 1206).

The Mongols conquered the Chin Empire in 1234.

After 42 years, the Mongols conquered the whole of China.

Chu Hsi (1130-1200) and his philosophical contemporaries flourished in this age of national disaster and humiliation. It was an age where the intelligentsia were intensively interested in the question of war & peace—Recovery of Lost Territory and Revenge of the Captivity of two Emperors & their Household.

Chu Hsi's father, Chu Sung (1097-1143), belonged to the group who opposed the Peace or Appeasement Policy (1138-1141) which gave the country a period of humiliating peace (1141-1160).

The Chu family came from Wu-yuan in Huichou; but Chu Sung settled down in Yu-hsi, in modern Fukien, where our philosopher was born in 1130.

Chu Hsi was early noted for his brilliant intellect and wide learning. He passed the Civil Service Examination in 1148, when he was 18. After a period of minor

administrative work, he retired to private life and devoted himself to study & writing.

But he was always interested in the affairs & policies of the government, and on several occasions presented lengthy memorials to the throne on problems of war & peace & of government & education.

From 1178 on, he held a number of important administrative posts in the provinces. He was in the central government only for a brief period (1189) of about 40 days.

His great reputation as a scholar & philosopher, and his austerity in criticizing the powerful politicians of the time, brought him strong opposition and even persecution in his last years.

In 1197, he was banished and his school was placed under proscription. Some of his disciples were exiled to distant areas.

He died in the midst of this government persecution. His disciples, who numbered by the hundreds, were not permitted to come & participate in his funeral.

But, in less than ten years, the time changed, and posthumous honors were conferred upon him.

And in 1241,—41 years after his death,—an imperial edict elevated Chu Hsi, together with Chou Tun-i, Chang Tsai, the Ch'eng brothers, to be worshipped in the Temple of Confucius!

Contemporaries:
Chu Hsi (1130-1200)
Chang Shih (张栻) (d. 1180)
Lu Chiu-yüan (Lu Hsiang-shan) 陆九渊 (d. 1192) and his brothers
Lü Tsu-ch'ien (吕祖谦) (d. 1181)
Ch'en Liang (陈亮) (d. 1193)
Yeh Shih (叶适) (d. 1223)

His important works:
(1) *Collected Writings* (121卷)
(2) *Records of Conversations Classified under Topics*《语类》(140卷)
(3) *Book for Elementary Education* (《小学》)
(4) *The Four Books*
(5) *Commentary on the* Book of Change
(6) *Commentary on the* Book of Songs
(7) *Chin Szu Lu* (《近思录》)

The greatness of Chu Hsi lies in his clear recognition of the importance of the "hard way" of Investigation of Things as the only way to achieve the extension of knowledge.

In defiance of all contemporary criticism & opposition, he openly taught that *ko-wu* (格物) must be understood in the sense of Investigation into the Reason of Things.

In his commentary on *The Great Learning*, Chu Hsi ventured to add a new paragraph "on 格物" which was a paraphrase of Ch'eng I's ideas and which has remained the standard text for the last 700 years:

"If we wish to carry out knowledge to the utmost, we must go to (即) the things and exhaustively investigate into the reasons thereof.

"For in the mind of every one of us, there is knowledge (吾心之灵，莫不有知); and, in every one of the things of the world, there is its reason (principle, 'ground of being') (天下之物，莫不有理). Our knowledge is incomplete so long as we have not fully investigated the reason of things.

"Therefore, at the beginning of 'advanced learning' (大学始教), the learner must be instructed to go to all things in the world and, proceeding on the basis of what is already known, investigate further & further, in order that our knowledge may be extended to the utmost.

"When we have labored sufficiently hard and long and at last arrived at a state of far-reaching generalization and penetration, then, we shall have understood all things in their internality as well as their externality, in their subtlety as well as their superficiality, and we shall have thereby comprehended the substance & function of our own mind.

"That is called things investigated! That is called 'knowledge extended to the utmost.'"

This attempt to write the missing paragraph of the *Ta Hsüeh* was in fact tantamount to reading into (or smuggling through) an ancient text a new theory of knowledge which was not there.

This new philosophy was supposedly that of Ch'eng I's. But, in the light of history, this new paragraph must be considered Chu Hsi's own construction of Ch'eng I's theory of 格物.

One of the important elements in this theory of knowledge is the sentence that "in the mind of every one of us, there is knowledge." Note here that Chu Hsi did not say that "every one of us has the faculty of knowing." (Legge translates: "for the intelligent mind of man is certainly formed to know," which is exactly misconstruing this sentence to mean that man has only a knowing intellect!)

In Chu Hsi's commentary on the opening sentence of the *Ta Hsüeh*, he clearly says:

"What is here called 'illustrious virtue' (明德) is that which man acquires from Heaven (i.e., which man is endowed at birth), which remains receptive (虚), lively lustrous (灵) and untarnished (不昧), and which contains (具) all reason (众理 = the manifold reasons) and responds to the ten thousand things and matters (应万事). But, being limited by its material nature and blinded by human desires, it becomes blemished (昏) at times.

"But its original lustre (明) has never died out. Therefore, the learner ought to use whatever light (or enlightenment) that comes out, and make it shine brighter, in order that the original lustre might be restored."

Here we see that Chu Hsi was also influenced by the thought of Ch'an Buddhism which implied awakening and enlightenment were all within the original nature or mind of man (本心，本性).

Like the earliest philosophers of the 11th century, Chu Hsi conceived that man is endowed with innate knowledge, which is sometimes tarnished or blinded by desire or temptations.

But he also believed that "in every thing in the world, there is reason" which can be known by investigation; and that such investigation of the reason in things is the workable method to extend our knowledge, that is, to extend the knowledge that is within ourselves.

Hence, the ultimate goal of a sudden and generalized awakening or enlightenment.

Here we may also note that Chu Hsi was greatly influenced by his teacher Li T'ung (李侗, d. 1163) who had inherited from the disciples of Ch'eng I the doctrine of the Oneness of Reason and the multiplicity of its manifestations (理一分殊).

Under the influence of his teacher Li T'ung, Chu Hsi had come to take the position that it is more important to attend to the multitudinous manifestations than to contemplate the Oneness of Universal Reason.

By nature a strong and inquisitive mind, he was attracted by the intellectual developments of his age which included a general progress in scientific knowledge in many fields, in astronomy, mathematics, medicine, archaeology, linguistic studies, and history.

Early in his teens, he was already developing an interest in scholarship and research.

(One of his very early writings was a preface he wrote to his own collection of stone-inscriptions; the preface was dated 1156 when he was 26. In this preface, he tells us that he was very fond of studying old inscriptions found on bronze vessels & stone monuments and that he was a diligent student of the 2 greatest works on archaeology, namely, the《集古录》of Ou-yang Hsiu and《金石录》of Chao Ming-ch'eng.)

Without being aware of it, he was training himself to be a patient research scholar,—even in those youthful years when he was dreaming to attain sagehood or sainthood through meditation & reverence.

He was ashamed of his many sided scholarly interests which the great elder Ch'eng had openly condemned as "玩物丧志" "playing with things and losing your soul"!

When he was prefect of Nan K'ang, he established the 白鹿洞书院, for which he set up these "Principles of Instruction" (教条):

(1) The Five Human Relations are the Content of Instruction:

父子有亲　长幼有序
君臣有义　朋友有信
夫妇有别

(2) Order or Procedure of Instruction:

Learn widely.
Inquire meticulously.
Think carefully.
Analyze (Debate?) clearly & distinctly.
Act earnestly.

(3) Rules of Action:

① Self-cultivation: Speak faithfully & truthfully.
Act reverently.
Control anger.
Suppress passions.

Emulate good example.

Correct wrong acts.

② Dealing with practical Affairs:

"Establish what ought to be done, but do not consider what profit it may produce.

"Make known the right way, but do not calculate what its results may be."

(Tung Chung-shu)

③ Dealing with men:

"What you do not wish done to you, do not do to others."

"Whenever you cannot have your way, seek the cause of failure within yourself."

In 1164, when he was only 34, he wrote a letter to an older scholar, in which he laid down this formula:

We should follow the procedure of learning from below in order to reach for the heights (下学而上达). In all our discussion and thinking, we should prefer cumbersome details to brevity, prefer plodding on the earth to high-flying, prefer shallowness to profundity, prefer clumsiness to cleverness.

宁烦毋略
宁下毋高
宁浅毋深
宁拙毋巧
} In these simple words, Chu Hsi's greatness is best seen.

There is recorded a remarkable discourse of his, in which the philosopher was so earnest that he seemed quite excited in his eloquence:—

"There are the words of the wise men of the past. There are the many truths & principles spread before us. Let us open our minds and study them and see through them. Then, we shall be equipped to meet the changes & the novel situations.

"Let us not cling to one little thing.

"Let us learn from the Buddhist monks who travel on foot from place to place, meeting the best minds from all corners of the empire, observing the affairs & conditions of the localities, seeing the scenery & topography of the mountains & rivers, studying the historic remains of the success & failure, good government & misrule, rise and fall of past governments & dynasties. Then, but not until then, shall we see all sides of the truth.

"For (quoting Confucius) 'a scholar who clings to his little place of residence, is disqualifying himself to be a scholar.'

"There is never such a thing as attainment of sagehood by means of sitting quiet in a little room, concentrating one's thought on one thing or one idea.

"From the time of antiquity to this day, there has never been a sage who does not know the affairs of the world; there has never been a sage who cannot deal with changing and novel situations; and there has never been a sage who shuts himself in a little room & sits idly alone.

"The sage should know all things & understand all things….

"Therefore, Confucius teaches us to learn widely (the Master lays special

emphasis on these two words). We should 'learn widely, question attentively, think carefully, discuss (debate) clearly, and practice earnestly…'

"In learning, one should aim at learning everything. But for one's understanding, it is necessary to study one thing at a time.…"

This discourse was recorded by Ch'en Ch'un (陈淳) in 1199, when Chu Hsi was sick in bed. He died in 1200.

His great achievement lies in his application of the method of 格物穷理 to many fields of intellectual activity.

It is probably a matter of historical & environmental conditioning that made his investigations (researches) practically to what may be called "Humanistic" studies.

He realized that Ch'eng I had in mind two kinds of definition of the scope of "物":

(1) All things in the world.

(2) Book study (Humanistic)

He frankly devoted his life to the scientific study of the Humanities.

But he also made many interesting & fruitful observations on the facts & phenomena of nature.

He said, for example:

"I have noticed shells are found on high mountains, sometimes in rocks. The rocks were the soils of old days, and the shells once lived in the water. The low places have become high, and the soft mud has turned into hard rocks."

He was thus anticipating Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) by 300 years in understanding the true nature of fossils!

His scientific achievements in the field of humanities:

(1) The *Book of History*—

He was the first man to point out the doubtful character of the 古文《尚书》. 今文 28 / 古文 25

(2) The *Book of Songs*—

① He discarded the 诗序.

② He taught a new method for its study: a revolutionary method.

③ He gave new interpretations of many poems.

(3) The *Book of Change*—

He pointed out that we must not forget that this was a book of Divination primarily.

(4) The *Book of Filial Piety*—

He proved that the book was of late authorship and that it was the work of an inferior writer. He proved the sources of some of the passages.

A most remarkable case of a bold hypothesis verified by facts was his edition of the *Sayings of Hsieh Liang-tso* (谢良佐《上蔡语录》). He struck out over 50 entries as "interpolations." And years later, he found that all the 50 odd entries were actually taken from the *Sayings of Chiang Min-piao* (江民表).

Another remarkable work is his essay on 坐跪拜—notably its emphasis on evidence (文翁殿塑像 etc.)

It is my opinion that Chinese scientific thinking was indebted to
(1) Ch'annist Methodology—
Proofs
① 朱子's mention of Ch'an monks' travelling on foot from place to place
② 朱子's mention of Buddhist teaching of 渐修顿悟—example: "斫树木，今日斫，明日斫，到树倒时，只一斫便了。"《语类》十八，德功记
(2) Magistrate's training in judicial procedure (detective work)
Proofs
① 程伊川's record of his father's & brother's legal cases
② 朱子's own mention of his 讼田案："契数十本，中间一段作伪。自崇宁（1102—1106）、政和（1111—1117）间，至今不决。将正契及公案藏匿，皆不可考。某只索四畔众契比验，前後所断情伪，更不能逃者。"（《语类》十八，淳记）
③ 朱子's saying: 如今读书，多是不曾理会得一处通透了，少间却多牵引前面疑难来说。此最学者大病。譬如一个官司，本自是鹘突了，少间又取得许多鹘突底证见来证对；却成一场无理会去。（《语类》104，木之录）
④ 朱子《上蔡语录》《后序》用"谬佐"字样。
⑤ 朱子说：某尝说，看文字须如法家深刻，方穷究得尽。某直是下得工夫。
⑥ 朱子自述在漳州的经验："集诸同官，各分几件（状子）去定夺"一条，共下详述初间"自去做文章，都不说著事情"，"某不免先为画样子云"：…… 此一条最重要。
（《语类》106，pp. 8-12，贺孙录）

Chu Hsi died in 1200, at the height of political persecution of "The False Philosophy" (伪学).

In 1227, he was posthumously honored by the Government which conferred on him the rank of "Great Tutor" and the title of "Marquis of Hsin Kuo" 信国公, which was later changed to "Marquis of Hui Kuo 徽国公."

In 1241, he was worshipped in the Temple of Confucius.

By 1276, the Southern Sung Empire was overrun by the Mongols who had conquered North China over 40 years previously.

Under the Mongol regime in North China (from 1234 on) and in the whole of China (from 1276 on), a number of Chinese scholars played a part in "taming" the conquerors and in "softening" and "humanizing" their rule.

One of the civilian advisers to Kublai Khan was Hsü Hêng (许衡, 1209-1281) who had learned the philosophy of Chu Hsi from a southern scholar captured by the Mongol army, and who was mainly responsible for popularizing the teachings of Chu's School in the north.

The Mongols abolished the Civil Service Examination system for about 80 years, though they left some schools running.

When the examinations were revived in 1314, the subject-matter of the examinations was to be knowledge of the Confucianist Classics as interpreted by Chu Hsi in his Commentaries.

This elevation of Chu Hsi as the orthodox and standard teacher of Confucianism

was continued under the Ming Dynasty which was founded in 1369, after a successful Chinese revolution against the Mongols.

The triumph & spread of Chu Hsi's teaching were due to many factors:
(1) The great learning of Chu Hsi
(2) The excellence of his text-books (He who wrote the text-books for the next 700 years, controlled the minds of China for 700 yrs!)
(3) The intellectual appeal of the methodology to the intellectualistically inclined minority
The fruitfulness of the methodology in intellectual pursuits.
(4) The continuance of this intellectualistic tradition by generations of learned men who acknowledged the leadership of Chu Hsi
① Chên Ch'un 陈淳 (d. 1217)
② Chên Te-hsiu (真德秀, d. 1235)
③ Huang Chên (黄震, d. about 1280)
④ Wang Ying-lin (王应麟, 1223-1296)
⑤ Hu San-hsing (胡三省, d. about 1290)
⑥ Wu Ch'eng (吴澄, d. 1333)
For 300 years (1200-1520), the teaching of Chu Hsi held undisputed sway in the country. His classical commentaries and his text-books were used in all schools throughout the land.
This teaching was so highly honored during this period that Hsüeh Hsüan (薛瑄, 1389-1464), one of the best known scholars of the 15th century, said that Chu Hsi had done his work so well as to leave nothing for future generations to investigate!

> "Our task, therefore, is but to act and live the truths found by that great teacher!"

This spirit of slavish acceptance was just the opposite of Chu Hsi's philosophy which taught men to investigate things and extend knowledge to the utmost.
But the Chu Method (格物) was too strenuous for most people. Two natural consequences:
(1) Slavish acceptance (述朱)
(2) Return to 主敬, 静坐 (述陆)

But even as Hsüeh Hsüan was saying this, a rebellion was starting from the far South. From Canton, came Ch'en Hsien-chang [陈献章(白沙)1428-1500], who openly expressed his preference for the other method of "simplicity"—that of meditation, and who taught all his students to practice meditation.

Lu Chiu-yüan (Hsiang-Shan) (1139-1193)
进士 (1172)

Individualism—Dignity of Man

> "Above is Heaven, below is the Earth. Man who dwells between them, must

endeavor to be a Man in order not to disgrace his place."

"Lifting up my head, I aspire to the South Star. Turning my back, I lean upon the North Star. I look beyond the heavens, and find no one that is the like of me."

"All things are complete within myself." (Mencius)

"The universe is my mind, and my mind is the universe."

"All men have this mind, and minds are endowed with this Reason. Mind is the same as Reason."

Once you have found your self, then "all the Six Classics are merely foot-notes on yourself."

"The Six Classics annotate myself, and I myself annotate the Six Classics.

"If there were to appear a sage in the Eastern Sea, he would have this same Mind & this same Reason.

"If there were to appear a sage in the Western Sea, he would have this same Mind & this same Reason.

"If there were to appear a sage in the Northern or Southern Seas, he would have this same Mind & this same Reason.

"If 100 or 1000 generations ago, or a 100 or 1000 generations hence, there were to be a sage, he would have had this same Mind & this same Reason."

The Method?

"Sit straight, fold your hands, collect your spiritual forces, and become lord over yourself. 'All things are complete within myself.' What do you lack?"

This type of philosophy is simply Buddhism & Ch'annism talking the jargon of Mencius.

It was a revolt against the intellectualistic approach as being worked out by Ch'eng I and esp. by Chu Hsi. It was a conscious return to the "First Wheel" of Reverence and Meditation.

It elevates the dignity & worth of the individual. It loves freedom & independence. But it teaches no method which leads to new knowledge, and teaches no method for achieving new knowledge. And it does not care for new knowledge.

It leads to Dogmatism, and intuition & subjectivity always leads to dogmatism.

Best example is Lu's letter to 陶赞仲 (Tao Tsan-chung) (eg. Miss Siu-chi Huang's translation in her book, pp. 33-34).

Referring to his controversial writings (to Chu Hsi), he said:

"The truth (理) which I have made clear is the Right Truth, the Real Truth, the Unchanging (常) Truth, and the Universal (公) Truth of the world. It is what has been described [in the *Chung Yung*] as 'that which is rooted in the Self, proved by the people; checked with the Sage-Rulers (三王) and found there is nothing wrong; set up before Heaven & Earth and found nothing contrary [to their course]; inquired of the gods & the spirits and found no doubt arising;

prepared to await the rise of the sages a hundred generations after and found there is no misgivings.'

"…There can be only one Right Truth (正理) in the world. When this Truth is made clear, Heaven & Earth cannot differ from it; the gods cannot differ from it; the sages of a thousand ages cannot differ from it!"

Such is the Absolute Truth of Subjective Enlightenment!

In 1175, Chu Hsi and the Lu brothers were brought together by a common friend Lü Tsu-Ch'ien (吕) (1137-1185) at a meeting on the Goose Lake (鹅湖). Both sides were encouraged to present their views and, then, if possible to come to some common ground of agreement.

But the meeting resulted in nothing. The two schools became more & more separated.

But their mediator or moderator—their common friend, Lü Tsu-Ch'ien, was probably coming nearer to the truth than either side of the controversy, when he wrote to another common friend that "It is not easy to make clear what goodness is, and it is not easy to find out what truth is. This should be constantly kept in our minds." "善未易明，理未易察。"

Wang Shou-jen (Yang-ming)

Born 1472

Died 1528

His father Wang Hua (王华) was number one in the Examination of 1481.

He himself was number 2 in the national exam, and No. 7 in the Palace Final (1499).

He had been a precocious child, being able to compose poems at 10.

1499-1506 He served in several departments of the central gov't.

1506 He offended the powerful eunuch, Liu Chin (刘瑾), was imprisoned, and given (flogged with) 40 bastinadoes (廷杖) which almost killed him.

He was exiled to Lung-ch'ang in the north-western part of Kwei Chou.

1508-1509—in exile in Kwei Chou

Liu Chin was executed in 1510.

Wang was gradually promoted to higher posts.

By 1517, he became governor of Nan Kung 南赣, with military powers. He showed great talents as a military leader in the suppression of banditry in the province (1517-18).

In 1519, came the Rebellion of the Prince of Ning (at Nan-ch'ang), a powerful prince of blood, who aspired to overthrow the reigning emperor who was a profligate monarch.

Wang was the only important official with military powers who had the presence of mind and the courage to decide immediately to turn his army against the Rebellious Prince without any authorization from the Imperial Court.

By quick movements and clever strategy, Wang was able to crush the entire Rebellion in a month and captured the Prince of Ning.

He was made concurrently Governor of Kiang Si (1520-1521).

After the death of the dissolute emperor in 1521, he was rewarded with an Earldom (伯) of 新建.

From 1522 to 1527, he lived in retirement in his hometown, in Shao Shing.

In 1527, at the age of 55, he was made Governor-general of the military forces of Kwangtung & Kwangsi Provinces and sent on a military mission to suppress the aborigines' rebellion in Kwangsi.

In 1528, he pacified the Tribes without a battle.

He died in October (十一月) while on his way back from Kwangsi to his retirement.

He openly attacked Chu Hsi's theory of *ko-wu* (格物) as impossible to practice.

> "You all say that you follow Chu's method of investigation into the reason of all things. But have you ever tried to practice it?
>
> "I have tried it. Years ago, my friend Ch'ien (钱) and I discussed the matter of achieving sagehood through investigation into the reason of all things in the world.
>
> "I pointed to the bamboos in front of the houses and told my friend Ch'ien to investigate them.
>
> "Well, Nu. Ch'ien spent days & nights on the investigation of the reason of the bamboo. At the end of the 3rd day, he was so exhausted that he fell sick.
>
> "Well, I thought that his failure was due to his lack of energy & mental power. So I myself took up the investigation.
>
> "For days & nights, I thought & thought but failed to get at the reason of the bamboo. At the end of the 7th day, I was exhausted & fell quite sick.
>
> "So my friend Ch'ien and I sighed together and decided that sagehood was beyond the reach of us weak mortals who were not endowed with sufficient energy & power to investigate into the reason of all things!
>
> "Years later, during my two years' exile among the aborigines, tribes in Kwei Chou, I began to see the truth. I began to understand that there is nothing in the things for us to investigate, and that the task (功) of *ko-wu* is only to be performed within our own person & mind.
>
> "It was then that I began to see that sagehood is within the reach of every one of us."
>
> (*Sayings* III, p. 16.)

Wang tells us that it is impossible to investigate all things, esp. when "things" are so conceived as to include "every grass & every tree."

> I now explain the word "*ko*" by the old meaning "*chêng*" (正) "to correct, to set right," and "*wu*" I define as "acts, or doings (事)."

These "事" "acts" are no other than the "cultivation of the individual person, the rectification of the mind, the making sincere of the idea"—all of which are in fact "one & the same thing and one & the same act."

To Wang Yang-ming, the entire text of *Ta Hsüeh* must be interpreted anew. He wrote a concise treatise "大学问" "Inquiry Concerning the *Ta Hsüeh*," and first made it public in 1527, the year before his death.

"致知" does not mean "the extension of knowledge to the utmost." 知does not mean "knowledge." 知 means that inner voice in every one of us which knows immediately what is right & which is wrong. It is the innate moral consciousness or conscience. It is best translated "moral intuition."

It is what Mencius defined as that which is acquired without leaving.

To extend this 良知 "moral intuition" means to carry out its dictate to the fullest extent.

Now, 格物 in the new meaning of "setting acts right" is the same thing as carrying the dictates of the moral intuition into actual action by always avoiding wrong-doing and always doing right.

> "致知格物 means to me the extending of our moral intuition to every thing & every action."

From this theory of "extending moral intuition" (致良知), comes his doctrine of "unity of knowledge and action" (知行合一).

> "Action is the earnestness and sincerity of knowledge; knowledge is the intelligence and consciousness of action.
>
> "Real knowledge is action; without action, there is no knowledge."

On the eve of his departure from his home for his new military command (九月九日, 1527), he dictated a summary of his philosophy in 4 lines:

"无美无恶是心之体。
有美有恶是意之动。
知美知恶是良知。
为美去恶是格物。"
Neither good, nor evil: that is the nature of the mind.
Good and evil come from the activity of the will (意念).
To know good to be good & evil to be evil: that is moral intuition.
To do good & avoid evil: that is rectification of action (格物).

In 1525, 3 years before his death, he wrote a letter to a friend, in which he preached what he called "the Theory of Digging-up the Roots and Stopping the Source" (拔本塞源之论). It was a sermon on the necessity of repudiating the entire over-sophisticated and self-seeking civilization of his age, and of advocating a return to a life of simplicity and natural kindness and love.

> "What the scholars are studying, cultivating and teaching is just good enough to strengthen the defenses (literally, the fenses) of those selfish and unscrupulous powerful rulers of the empire.
>
> "The breadth of book learning is only for the encouragement of their licentiousness; the increase of knowledge is only for aiding their wickedness; the Catholicity of information is only for helping their eloquent self-defense; and the beauty and richness in the literary style is only for the adornment of their insincerity & hypocrisy.
>
> "All this evil comes from a philosophy which regards the inner voice (良知) as insufficient and the truth teaching of the Sages as useless."

His teaching was the result of an exceedingly brilliant mind undergoing the painful experiences of political oppression & physical torture. Out of this suffering & oppression, he came to the firm conviction that nothing could suppress or conquer the inner voice—the innermost moral sense of right & wrong—which constitutes the final tribunal of moral judgment, and which constitutes the real dignity and worth of Man.

This moral sense (良知) gives us freedom and independence.

> "Obey your own intuitive moral sense which knows right to be right & wrong to be wrong. That is your only Master & Teacher!"

In 1527, on his way to his military command, he wrote a poem, of which the last 4 lines are:

> "The universe exists because I exist.
> Why should I seek elsewhere?
> The thousand sages are only part shadows.
> My moral intuition is my Master."

颜元说：

> "近日思陆子静是少年聪明，早见了根本，只道根本上见及分晓，自然事事物物合道。"
>
> 《四书正误》三，p. 2

此论可用于陆王。

Wang Shou-jen died in 1528. In the next 100 years,—or 150 years,—the "Wang School" (王门) became the fashion of the intellectual class, esp. in Kiangsi, Chekiang, Kiangsu and Fukien.

In 1584, Wang was worshipped in the Temple of Confucius.

With the exception of a short period under the guest statesman Chang Chu-chêng 张居正 (in power 1567-1582), the government in the 16th & 17th centuries was in the hands of weakling emperors, corrupt eunuchs, and corrupt ministers.

The esoteric philosophy of the Wang School was helpless in the ordering of the State.

In the last years of the 16th century, a new power was rising in the north-east, the Manchu tribe, who, under the leadership of Nurhaci, was conquering and consolidating all the north-eastern tribes and was beginning to invade Chinese territory in the Liao River region.

In 1616, Nurhaci proclaimed himself Emperor of Chin (金).

Throughout the 16th century, Japanese pirates were making frequent raids on the China coast.

In 1592, the Japanese military dictator, Hideyoshi, brought a huge army across the sea to invade Korea as a first step in his gigantic plan for world conquest.

The war lasted 7 years (1592-8) devastating Korea & exposing the military weakness of the Chinese Empire.

Internally, oppressive taxation and the corruption of officialdom & the privileged gentry led to the rise & spread of peasant-revolts.

From 1628 on, for 17 years, the "Roving Bandits" spread over the north-western & central provinces.

In 1644, a strong force of the revolting peasants under Li Tzu-ch'êng, moved on Peking. The City fell and the Emperor committed suicide.

The Manchu armies taking advantage of the disorder & anarchy in China, marched into Peking in November, 1644, and established themselves there after defeating the forces of the Chinese Rebellion.

In the course of a little over a decade, the Manchus completed their conquest of the whole of China.

Thus began the Manchu regime of 270 years.

> The new philosophy which stressed the ultimate guidance of the inner voice of the intuitive moral sense, while it was apparently helpless as a constructive force in reforming the government & rejuvenating a rapidly disintegrating empire,—did produce a number of fighting censors and ministers who gave their lives in fighting against the powerful & corrupt eunuchs & prime ministers.

Lü K'un (1536-1616), a philosopher not strictly of the Wang School, made this remarkable observation:

> "Between Heaven & Earth, there are only two supreme things: Reason & Authority. Of the two, Reason is the more supreme. When Reason holds the floor, even an emperor cannot suppress it by political authority. Even when Reason is temporarily suppressed by Authority, it will always be vindicated in the long run throughout the generations."

In this passage as well as in many writings of martyred scholar-officials, we can see the spirit of freedom & individualism fighting against authority and despotism.

It is the same spirit of freedom & individualism which characterized the new literature of the age.—For the 16th & 17th centuries were an age of the great novels, the new short stories & the new songs,—all written in the living language of the common man.

Literary critics were openly defying the classical tradition and declaring that this new literature was more real, more honest, and therefore much better than the old, imitative & lifeless literature in the classical style.

It was an age of literary emancipation and revolution.

And it is the same spirit of freedom & independence which gave rise to a new critical scholarship & critical philosophy.

For out of the wreckage of the Ming Empire and at the height of foreign conquest, there was emerging a new Intellectual Age which is characterized by the Spirit of Criticism and revolt against the emptiness, futility and sterility of the intellectual & philosophical tradition of the proceeding era.

This New Age may be called the Age of Revolt Against Rational Philosophy.

Chapter 5
The Age of Revolt Against Rational Philosophy

1050-1650, this may be called the Age of Rational Philosophy.
In these 600 years, China was 3 times conquered by foreign invasion:
1126-
1230-1276
1644-1661

The Age of Revolt Against Rational Philosophy 1645-1945

Two phases of the Revolt:
(I) Destructive
(II) Constructive

The Destructive Phase

1. To attack the cosmological basis of Chou (周) & Shao (邵) as having its origin in the texts of medieval Taoists
Huang Chung-hsi (黃宗羲)
Huang Chung-yen (黃宗炎)
Mao Ch'i-ling (毛奇齡)
Hu Wei (胡渭)
[But most of these men were followers of the Wang (王) School whose attack on the Sung philosophers was largely for the purpose of indirectly upholding the Wang School of Ming.]
2. To attack the entire Rational Philosophy as "useless & sterile"
Fei Mi (费密, 1625-1701) called the whole philosophy as "bagged wind and boxed fog" "囊风橐雾," "which was of no use to the world either in time of peace or in time of war, and which could not help a family or a government in time of emergency, nor could save the people from suffering and slaughter."
Ku Yen-wu (1613-1682), Yen Yuan (1635-1704), and many others shared this view.

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Ku was more kindly to Chu Hsi. While the others, Fei & Yen, attacked the whole movement.

Fei Mi took the historical view that the ancient classical tradition was essentially sound because it was the tradition of men who took active part in the practical affairs of society and the state; and that the medieval religions' heritage was fundamentally unsuited to Chinese life and opposed to the classical tradition, because the medieval tradition was the teaching of "the men of the hills & the woods" (山林之人) who fled the active world.

Fei Mi wanted to return to the true Chinese tradition of active work and achievement (事业, 事功),—"the philosophy of the ruler, the statesman & the general"—"the philosophy of the city & the metropolitan center."

In this attack on Rational philosophy as "useless and sterile," these rebels singled out 3 undesirable features:

(1) Hair-splitting metaphysical speculations

(2) Meditation

(3) Bookish Studies & Discussions of all kinds (Yen Yuan)

> Reading books & writing books can injure a man's physical strength (气力) and mental power (神智) and cannot enhance his capabilities and character. (Yen Yuan)

Yen Yuan calls book-reading as poisonous as "swallowing arsenic" (吞砒).

The Yen School condemns all these 3 features.

But the other schools tended to make a distinction between useful books & useless books.

After the 1st generation, even Li Kung, the great successor to Yen Yuan, became contaminated by the scholarly tradition of the South, and began to write commentaries on all the important classics!

Such was the great temptation of the scholarly tradition!

3. To attack the puritanical aspects of the Rationalist teaching as inhuman

Yen Yuan

Li Kung (1659-1733)

Tai Chên (1724-1777)

They all attacked the general condemnation of "human desires" (人欲) as being opposed to "天理."

It was a moral philosophy which condemns all flesh, all red blood, all life.

The last 300 years (1600-1900) has been more productive of this type of "unadorned learning" than of systematic philosophizing.

Scholars have found detailed research more absorbingly interesting & more fruitful.

Some critics like 章学诚 Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng (1738-1801) complained of the scholars of the age as "idle silkworms which can only feed on the mulberry leaves but cannot produce silk."

But this Age was not entirely without philosophical developments,—not without creative philosophical thinking.

It has produced at least two important schools of thought:

(1) Schools of Yen Yuan & Li Kung

(2) Philosophy of Tai Chên

There may have been some important historical connection between the two schools: Tai Chên's may be a new development of the philoso. of Yen-Li?

Yen Yuan (1635-1704) came from the farm in the poor & devastated region of Chihli. He did farming, country-doctoring, and school-teaching.

He was a devout follower of the Sung and Ming philosophers whom he literally worshipped in a private shrine in his own house.

At the age of 34 (1668), he began to revolt against the entire Rational Philosophy—as useless, sterile, impractical & inhuman, and as largely responsible for the sorry state of the country & the nation!

> "The truth is not to be formed in books and their commentaries, & learning does not consist of sudden awakening (through meditation) and book-reading.
>
> "The truth can be found only through each man physically (bodily) learning it and physically practicing it."(身实学之。身实习之。)

He gave himself a new name—习斋.

His philosophy is one of Pragmatism in that sense.

He repudiated all the earlier definitions of 格物.

He said "格" means "dealing forcefully with one's own hands" 犯手去做.

And "物"? He said "物" means the "three things" "三事" mentioned in the *Shu Ching* and the *Tso Chuan*:

三事:

(1) 正德 (Right cultivation of character)
(2) 利用 (Increase of utility)
(3) 厚生 (Enrichment of life)

Or the "三物" in the 周礼, which include:

(1) 六德 (Six Virtues)
智仁圣义忠和
(2) 六行 (Six Duties)
孝友睦姻任恤
(3) 六艺 (Six Arts)
礼乐射御书数

These seem simple & crude. But said Yen,

> "[Classical] learning is lost because its crudities (粗) are lost. Let's proceed from the crudities in order to reach its refinements. And [Classical] government is lost because its externalities (迹) are lost. Let's exalt the externalities in order to carry out its inner significance."
>
> (Cf. Chu Hsi's youthful resolve)

So he discarded all the fine & refined philosophical speculations of the past.

He accepted the material nature of man as the only nature there is.

He recognized "Practice" as the only path to knowledge.

> "It is easy to talk about such obscurantist subjects as the mind, the soul, the Divine Reason, the Will or Design of Heaven, the original nature of man. Just as it is easier to paint ghosts & angels than to paint a real dog or a real horse.
>
> "When I discussed with my friend Wang Fa-ch'ien such metaphysical problems as the soul & the mind, we could go on for many hours without

apparently a single hitch.

"But when I tried to do a simple arithematic problem of multiplication or division, I often got into trouble!"

He used medicine as an illustration.

p. 130《文存》(三)

Another example is playing the lute (琴).

pp. 130-131 (三)

Yen Yuan was uncompromising in his attack on the Schools of Rational Philosophy.

But he was limited & conditioned by the dead weight of traditional thought & belief and by his primitive environment & training.

He discarded & condemned the method of 主敬, but he practiced 习恭!

He condemned the 宋学 as too much under the influence of medieval religions. But he was full of primitive & crude superstitions such as he manifested on his long journey to Manchuria in search of his father.

His religion was crude and sometimes cruel and inhuman.

His diary & his "daily lessons"

The Constructive Phase

1. To discover and establish a new method & technique for the attainment of useful knowledge

2. To make another attempt at constructive philosophizing—to build up a new Rationalism for a new age

The perfection of a critical methodology for the attainment of reliable knowledge,—for research

It has been suggested by some scholars that the coming of the Jesuit missionaries at this time (from 1582 on) may have had some influence on the development of a more critical & scientific method in learning.

Matteo Ricci was a pupil of Father Clarius, who was one of the chief authors of the Gregorian Calaudar proclaimed by the Pope in 1582,—the year of Ricci's arrival in China.

利玛窦 Matteo Ricci (in China—1582-1610)
庞迪我 (de Pantoja, d. 1618)
熊三拔 (Sabbathin de Ursis, d. 1620)
Li Chih-tsao (d. 1630) (李之藻)
Hsü Kuang-ch'i (1562-1633) 徐光启

日食 Eclipse of the Sun on June 21, 1629
Calculations & predictions were made by 3 schools of astron.
1. 大统历 (Chinese)
2. 回统历 (Mohammedan)
3. Western

This scientific method has been applied to many fields of research:

1. Textual Criticism (校勘)
2. Phonology (音韵)
3. Semantics (change of meaning) 训诂
4. "Higher Criticism" (考据)
5. History & Archaeology

My own belief is that the Chinese development of a new methodology was a very gradual one, dating back to the 11th and 12th centuries.

1. The study of stone and bronze inscriptions of 欧阳修, 赵明诚, 洪适
2. The legal or judiciary training of the Chinese scholar-magistrate
3. The Chu Hsi tradition of application of the ideal of "investigation of things" to classical studies
4. The liberating influence of the Wang School of emphasis on individual freedom & independence in thought & belief

Best proof of this independent and gradual development is found in the historic fact that the two greatest founders of the new scholarship, 顾炎武 (1613-1682) in the study of historical phonology and 阎若璩 (1636-1704) in "Higher Criticism" of the *Book of History*, both had their earlier forerunners in the same fields.

1. 古音
Wu Yü (吴棫) Early 12th Century
Chu Hsi (朱熹)
Ch'en Ti's《毛诗古音考》(1601-1606)
本证+旁证
Ku Yen-wu《音学五书》 (1650-1680) "*Five Works on Ancient Pronunciation* (Phonology)"
2. 怀疑《古文尚书》
Wu Yü
Chu Hsi d. 1200
Wu Ch'eng 吴澄 (1249-1339)
Mei Tsu 梅鷟 (考异)—1543
Yen Jo-chü (疏证)—(1636-1704)

Ch'en Ti's work on the ancient pronunciation of the *Book of Songs* (1601-6) developed the methodology which has been followed in the next 300 years. He proves the ancient pronunciation of each sound by 2 groups of "evidences":

(1) Internal evidence (本证) which consists of the end-rhymes found in the *B. of Songs*

(2) Collaborating evidences (旁证) which are end-rhymes found in other equally ancient rhymed verses

Ku merely adopted Ch'en's method and expanded it by ① greatly increased number of evidences and by ② extending it to the study of other works (诗，易，唐韵).

Ku's original contribution lies in his synthesis & generalization of the particular sounds into sound-groups (古音表).

Thus was formally founded the new method of "evidential thinking," and generalized theorizing on the basis of evidence.

陈第服古音逼		顾《诗本音》	《唐韵正》
本证	14	17	
	㉔	㉜	162
旁证	10	15	

The same is true of the great work of Yen Jo-chü which proves the 25 "*ku-wen* 古文" books of the *Book of History* to be a forgery, probably of the early 4th century A.D.

Yen proposed 128 evidences!

These evidences are of many kinds:

(1) Early records of the number of "ancient script" texts

(2) Early recorded texts of the same

① 郑玄

② 石经(蔡邕)

(3) Early records by learned commentators like 杜预, 韦昭, 郑玄, who acknowledged many passages as from "ancient texts now lost" (逸书)

(4) Sources from which the forged texts have evidently been copied

(5) Geographical & historical "anachronisms" detested in the forged texts

This new learning has been variously called:

(1) 汉学, because of its emphasis on the Han Commentaries and lexicons as "being nearer to the Classical age" than the later Sung Commentaries

(2) 朴学, "the unadorned learning," because its conscious avoidance of philosophical speculation & literary adornment,—because of its strict adherence to "fact-finding & truth-seeking" 实事求是

(3) 考证学 "Learning based on Critical Examination and Evidence," because of its rigid emphasis on evidence in support of every phonological reconstruction, every semantic explanation, and every historical statement & judgment

Tai Chên (1724-1777) who lived in an age of great learning and who moved among the best minds of the time, was a mathematician, a geographer, a great classical scholar & great research-worker in many fields.

Unlike his contemporaries, Tai Chên had the ambition to work out a systematic philosophy.

He seemed to have been influenced by the Yen School whose philosophy he revised & developed.

As I have pointed out, the Ch'eng-Chu School had a two-fold method:

(1) 敬

(2) 致知

Tai Chên boldly declared: "The philosopher Ch'eng & Chu paid too much attention to the method of Reverence, but too little attention to knowledge & learning."

It was an outrageous challenge which only a very learned man of a very learned age could put forth!

He frankly pointed out that the fundamental mistake of Chu Hsi is his conception of 理 as "something which a man acquires from Heaven at birth and

which exists in his mind."

Because Reason is endowed from Heaven, the Philosophers had to invent the fiction of the original rational nature of man being stained and tarnished by his material nature.

This dualism permeates all phases of their philosophy, esp. its condemnation of all human desires as opposed to the Universal Reason.

Tai Chên teaches:

(1) A monistic materialistic (气) conception of the universe & of man

(2) The nature (性) of Man is simply a collective name for the blood, breath, desires, feelings, and the intellect.

(3) Man's nature is good in the only sense that man's intellect is superior to that of the other living beings.

(4) He frankly recognizes desires (欲) as essential conditions to life and all human activity.

> "Without desires, there would be neither life nor growth.
>
> "All human activity comes from desires without which there would be no action."

(5) All virtue is no more & no less than the natural desires of man properly guided & directed by his intelligence (知).

> "No virtue is outside the realm of desires: no virtue is apart from human blood & flesh, desire & intellect."

(6) The ideal government is one which enables all people properly to express their feelings and satisfy their desires.

> "The ideal government feels the feelings of the people (体民之情) and fulfills their desires (遂民之欲)."

(7) Reason (理) is "that which, on careful examination, manifests fine & minute distinction." It is therefore the internal texture and composition of things. 文理, 腠理

Etymologically, it means the fiber or grain in wood 文理 (纹理) or the marking in a piece of jade or marble.

In human relations, 理 means "properly arranged or ordered" (理=治).

When man's feelings are properly expressed and his desires properly fulfilled, that is called "理"=that is, well-ordered.

(8) Reason, therefore, is not opposed to desires. It lies in desires.

> "Reason is human feeling in its most satisfactory fulfillment."

(9) A man's private opinion must not be identified with Reason.

Tai Chên pointed out that the worst & most serious consequence of Rat. Philoso. had been the tendency of the philosopher to regard his private opinion (意见) as "Reason" (理). It teaches dogmatism and encourages cruel suppression of the "opinion" of all who are weak and inarticulate.

> "One can never avoid this identification of one's private opinion with reason if one believes that reason is 'something endowed from Heaven & contained within the mind.'

"What is regarded as Reason (理) is as cruel as what the ruthless judge calls law 法. The ruthless magistrate murders men in the name of Law. The latter-day philosophers murder men in the name of Reason. And they are actually abandoning Law and resorting to Reason. And men are dying of sure death—without redress!"

(10) The mind (the intellect) can be trained to discern the reason in things.

"Investigate one thing as thoroughly as possible. Then do the same with another thing. When this training has gone on sufficiently long, the intellect attains so high a degree of sagacity that it will not find it difficult to tackle new & unknown subjects."

Appendix

The Concept of Immortality in Chinese Thought

Subtitle: Being the Ingersoll Lecture on the Immortality of Man for the Academic Year 1944-1945, Harvard University. Delivered in Andover Chapel, April 10, 1945. [1]

I

In this lecture, I shall attempt to present a historical study of the development of the conceptions of immortality or human survival after death as they have been evolved in China throughout the various stages of Chinese religious and philosophical history.

The story is a long one, covering roughly three thousand years. But the main outlines are fairly clearly defined. For the history of Chinese belief and thought can be conveniently divided into two main periods: (1) the Age of Indigenous Chinese culture (1300 B.C.-200 A.D.) and (2) the Age of Indianized Chinese thought and culture, that is, the period since Buddhism and Indian thought began to influence Chinese life and institutions (approximately from 200 A.D. to the 19th century).

For the convenience of the student of the religious and intellectual history of the Chinese people, the indigenous, pre-Buddhistic age may again be broadly divided into two main eras:

1. The Era of Primitive Siniticism, that is, of the religious beliefs and practices of the Shang and Chou peoples, for which the term "Siniticism" or "the Sinitic Religion" is here suggested (1300-700 B.C.).

2. The era of intellectual and philosophical maturity (700 B.C.-200 A.D.), which embraces the classical philosophers from Lao Tzu and Confucius (551-479 B.C.) to Wang Ch'ung (29 A.D.-100 A.D.).

For our special inquiry concerning the concept of immortality in Chinese thought, we shall ask:

(1) What do we know of the early Sinitic notions of human survival after death?

(2) What have the Chinese classical philosophers contributed to the concept of immortality?

(3) How shall we describe the Chinese conception of human survival as resulting from the long period of Indianization?

1 Editor's Note: This article was previously published in *Harvard Divinity School Bulletin* (No. 122, 1945-1946, pp. 23-46), later published in *English Writings of Hu Shih 2: Chinese philosophy and Intellectual History*. (Chih-p'ing Chou ed., Beijing: Foreigh Language Teaching and Research Press, 2012, pp. 277-299).

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II

One of the most important events in the historical world has been the recent accidental discovery and the later systematic excavation of thousands of inscribed bones and tortoise shells and other historical objects at Anyang in the province of Honan. Anyang was the site of the last capital of the Shang Dynasty to which traditional chronology assigns the dates 1783-1123 [B.C.] (or, according to another calculation, 1751-1123 [B.C.]). These archaeological finds are the authentic remains of the period during which Anyang was the capital, covering about 262 years (1385-1123 [B.C.]).

Thousands of these inscribed bones and shells have been collected, studied and deciphered in recent decades. Practically all these thousands of bone "documents" are records of divination kept by the learned priests after each act of divination. They tell of the date, the diviner in charge, the question asked, and the answer given in the reading of the cracking caused by a process of burning underneath the shell or bone.

Most of the questions concern the regular cycle of sacrifices to the royal ancestors. These ancestral sacrifices are so numerous and so regular that Mr. Tung Cho-pin of the Academia Sinica, who was the first man to conduct the Anyang excavations in 1928, and who participated in all later excavations, has been able to work out a chronological schedule of the daily sacrifices under three Kings, covering the years 1273-1241 [B.C.], 1209-1175 [B.C.], and 1174-1123 [B.C.],—totalling 120 years, with about 360 regularly scheduled sacrifices to each year! It is no wonder, therefore, that the Shang people called the calendar year by the name of *Szu* (a cycle of sacrifices)!

Other questions for divination include war, travels, hunting, crops, weather, sickness, the propitiousness of each ten-day period, and others.

As a result of the excavations carried on in the years 1928-1936, several hundred tombs of the Shang Dynasty, including at least four royal tombs, have been scientifically excavated. In addition to the thousands of inscribed tortoise shells and animal bones, there have been found numerous bronze sacrificial vessels of advanced workmanship, stone sculptures of artistic beauty and vigor, a vast number of household utensils, weapons of war and helmets, and over a thousand human bodies. Many animals were found buried, including such domesticated ones as dogs, pigs, sheep, cattle and horses.

The animals were buried as sacrifices to the dead. In one pit, there were found thirty-eight horse skeletons, all wearing "bridles, beautifully studded with a great many decorated buttons; these are still in place, tracing the lines of the strap composing the bridle." (Creel, *The Birth of China*, p. 150.)

There are clear evidences that many of the human bodies were buried as sacrifices to the dead. More than a thousand headless skeletons were found in the tombs excavated in 1934 and 1935. "The skeletons are buried in pits which contain ten individuals. The bodies are buried in rectangular pits. …The skulls are buried separately, in square pits near by. Ten skulls are buried in a pit, standing vertically in regular rows, all looking toward the north. The objects found with the skeletons… include such things as small bronze knives and axe-heads, and grinding-stones, always ten to a pit, apparently one for each man." (Creel, pp. 212-3.)

Such are the documentary and material evidences which archaeology has unearthed for our understanding of the religion of ancestor-worship in the earliest

historical period of Siniticism.

For the first time we are made to realize the extraordinary and extravagant nature of this religion of ancestor-worship as represented in its royal and official form of the Shang period. Traditional history had told of the Shang people as worshippers of the spirits of the dead ancestors. But not until recent years did we realize the almost unbelievable frequency of the regular sacrifices and the extravagance in the vast quantity of costly treasures buried with the dead and particularly in the astoundingly large number of victims of human sacrifice.

The frequency and regularity of the cycles of ancestral sacrifices undoubtedly implies a belief that the dead ancestors have feelings, desires and wants similar to those of the living, and that those feelings, desires and wants have to be appeased by regular offerings and sacrifices. The burial with the dead of large numbers of utensils and weapons, animals and human slaves and guards points to the same conclusion.

Ancient Chinese documents make a distinction between two types of human sacrifices found in Sinitic times. One type is called "using human victims" at the altar of sacrifice. In this kind of human sacrifice, apparently only captives of war were used. The other type had a special term *Hsun* which may be translated as "followers of the dead" or "human beings killed and buried with the dead." *Hsun* was defined by Cheng Hsuan (d. 200 A.D.) as "killing men as guards for the dead." The idea was that the dead wants his own bodyguards for his protection and his favorite wives and play-boys to keep him company. Human beings thus killed and buried with the dead were those whom the dead had either explicitly designated to "follow" him or would have liked to have with him.

Judging from later historical cases of *Hsun*, it seems most probable that this custom of killing and burying human beings with a dead ancestor originated as a kind of "love offering" wherein the dying man explicitly selected his own favorite companions in death, but it was extended into a ritual wherein large numbers of armed soldiers were killed and buried as "guards" of the dead. The human bodies found buried with the great dead of the Shang period were undoubtedly intended as armed guards for the King! There were most probably favorite women selected to die with the King, but their bodies are no longer identifiable. Among the bone inscriptions, there were references to the offering of human captives at the ancestral sacrifices.

The systematic manner in burying these human victims according to a regular plan and numerical order suggests an established and accepted ritualism which had so long dulled the natural feeling of man as to make such acts of extreme cruelty matters of routine performance. When the royal court and government were busily engaged in daily performances of elaborate sacrifices to the ancestors, and the learned priesthood was burdened with the daily duty of sacrifices, divinations, and deciphering and recording of the divinations,—under such circumstances, it was well-nigh impossible to expect any important intellectual and religious awakening essential to change and reform in the religious system. Such an awakening did not come until after a great war which overthrew the Shang Dynasty and broke up the Empire, and until after several centuries of racial and cultural conflict under the new conquerors.

Ⅲ

The Shang Dynasty and Empire were conquered by the Chou people, who first settled in the far west and gradually moved eastward until, after over a century of steady growth in military strength and political organization, they finally overwhelmed the armies and allies of the Shangs in the last decades of the 12th century B.C.

In a number of public proclamations of the founders of the Chou Dynasty, the conquerors listed charges against the Shang Court and Government. The main accusations against the Court were indulgence in sensuous living, neglect of the welfare of the people, and, in particular, the prevalence of drunkenness. The fact that no accusation or condemnation was made of the amazing frequency, extravagance and cruelty in the sacrifices, shows that the new conquerors did not regard the Shang religion as anything unusually cruel or wrong.

But the Chou conquerors seem to have had a religion of their own which, while it included certain features of ancestral worship, did not emphasize those features, nor did it work out any elaborate rituals for the worship of ancestors. On the other hand, there were numerous evidences to show that this westerly people were worshippers of a Supreme God whom they called *Ti* or *Shang Ti* (Supreme God).

The Anyang oracular inscriptions lead many scholars to conclude that the conception of *Ti* and even of *Shang Ti* was not unfamiliar to the Shang people. It seems fairly certain that the Shang people had a custom of paying special honor to a select few of their ancestors by "deifying" them, that is, by conferring on them the title of *Ti* (God). And it seems also quite probable that, in the course of time, there was evolved the *Shang Ti*, the Supreme God or High God, who was no other than their first ancestor. It was a Tribal God. From time to time, a great ancestor of unusual achievement in war and peace would be elevated to the rank of *Ti* who would then be worshipped together with the Supreme God as his companion. The sacrifice to God or to an ancestor-god was also called *Ti*. Mr. Fu Ssu-nien in his work *On the Ancient Notions of HSING and MING* lists sixty-three bone inscriptions in which the word *Ti* is used. Of these, seventeen times it is used to denote the sacrifice to a deified ancestor; six times as a title of the ancestor-god; and twenty-six times as "God" without other qualifying words. In this last group of inscriptions, *Ti* (God) is said to have "caused to rain," "caused not to rain," "caused famine to befall us," etc. This implies undoubtedly a conception of a knowing and powerful God, a theistic conception which seems to have been dwarfed and stunted by the more prominent rituals of ancestor-worship.

The Chou people, in their long contact with the Shang culture, came to adopt the tribal God of the Shangs as their God and claimed him as their first ancestor. By being borrowed by another race or tribe, the *Shang Ti* gradually lost his tribal attributes and in time became the universal God and Supreme Lord.

The religious hymns and political proclamations of the Chou people manifest a high degree of deep and genuine religious fervor. They seem to be convinced that God was displeased by the misrule and immorality of the Shang rulers and that He had transferred His favor and mandate (*ming*) to the Chou people. Their battle-cry was:

> "God is watching over you:

Waver not in your mind!"

Their eulogy for their great King was:

"O this great Wen Wang!
With cautious reverence,
He devoutly served God."

The early Chou people seem to have developed a vague notion that the Supreme God dwelt in Heaven where their few great Kings would also go and be by the side of God. One of the hymns to King Wen says:

"The Great Wen Wang is on high.
……
Wen Wang arose on high
And is by the side of God."

And in another hymn:

"… O, the Chou House!
It has had wise kings in every age.
Three Kings are in Heaven."

These passages seem to indicate that the Chou people had a limited notion of Heaven as the abode of the Supreme God and of very few great kings or ancestors who, by special merit or virtue, were allowed to be by the side of God.

Such an exclusive Heaven was not to be shared by the ordinary people, the vast majority of whom were the Shang people, ruled over by a new ruling class of feudal princes receiving their original fiefs from the Chou Dynasty. This vast majority of the people continued to practice their religion of ancestor-worship.

But the great days of the extravagant royal religion of ancestor-worship were gone forever. Gone were the great annual cycles of daily sacrifices. Gone also were the human sacrifices on the grandest scale. The learned class of royal priesthood, too, had degraded into a professional class of scribes and priests who subsisted on performing and assisting in the funeral, burial and sacrificial rites in the families of the majority of the subject masses and in those of the small minority of the ruling aristocratic classes. National disaster and personal poverty had inculcated into them the lesson of humility and meekness. So this priest-scribe class came to acquire the generic name of *Ju*, meaning the meek and humble. They continued to teach and perform the traditional rites of funeral, burial, mourning, and ancestor-worship.

During the long period of the Chou Dynasty and the later independent and contending states (1100-250 B.C.), the theistic religion of the ruling classes and the more predominantly ancestor-worshipping religion of the masses seem to have influenced each other and were gradually coming together in what may be properly called "the Sinitic Religion," in which a much simplified ancestor-worship co-existed with such theistic features as a general recognition and worship of Heaven or God above a host of other minor gods. One of the main points of difference was

the extremely long period of mourning—three years for a dead parent—which was generally practiced by the Shang people but was long resisted by the ruling classes of Chou origin. This was still true at the time of Mencius, who flourished in about 300 B.C. It was not until after the second century A.D. that the three-year mourning period came to be required by law of all officials and candidates for the civil service.

IV

What can we know of the earliest Chinese conception of human survival after death?

We may begin our inquiry by glancing at the ancient ritual of "Recall of the Departed Spirit" at the time of a man's death. This ritual is found in the oldest ritual books and seems to have been widely practiced in early Sinitic times. It is called the *fu* ritual.

As soon as a man is found dead, a member of his family climbs upon the roof of the house with a set of clothes belonging to the dead. He faces the north, waves the dead man's clothes, and calls aloud—"O! Thou so-and-so, come back!" When the call is repeated three times, he throws down the clothes from the housetop and descends himself. The clothes are picked up and spread over the dead man's body. After that, food is offered before him. (*I Li*, Bk. 12; cf. *Li Chi*, Bk. 2 and Bk. 9.)

This ancient ritual implies a notion that at a man's death, something goes out of his body and seems to have gone up in the air. Hence the recall is performed on housetops.

The ritual of Recall probably also suggests a primitive intention of reviving the dead by calling that fleeing something back to the dead body. The fact that food is offered after the Recall ritual seems to suggest a belief that something is called back, which, although it may not revive the dead, is supposed to abide in the house and receive the offerings and sacrifices.

What is that something which goes out of the man at his death? It is the "light" or "soul" of the man. In the earliest literature, it was called *pai*, which etymologically means white, whiteness, and bright light. It is interesting to note that the same name, *pai*, was used in ancient bronze inscriptions and records to designate the growing light of the new moon. The periods of growing brightness after the new moon are called "the *pai* being born"; and the last phases after the full moon are called "the *pai* dying." The primitive Chinese seem to have regarded the changing phases of the moon as periodic birth and death of its *pai*, its "white light" or soul.

By analogy, the early Chinese regarded death as the passing out of the *pai*, the "light" or soul of the man. This analogy may have its origin in the "will-o'-the-wisp," which the Chinese today call "ghost-light." At an early stage, the *pai* was conceived as that which gave the man life, knowledge and intelligence. At death, the soul (*pai*) departs from the body and becomes, or is regarded as, a *kwei*, a spirit or ghost. But the soul's departure from the body may be gradual; with the decline of vitality and the faculties, the *pai* is passing out bit by bit, as it were. As late as the 7th and 6th centuries B.C., learned men and statesmen sometimes spoke of a man showing signs of declining intelligence as "Heaven (or God) having taken away his *pai*,"—that is, he would die before long. (*Tso Chuan*, years 594 and 544 B.C.)

In a later age, however, the notion of *pai* was gradually replaced by a new conception of the soul as something without shape and color, but moving and active.

It is something most like the breath from the mouth of a living being. This is called the *hun*. Gradually the old word *pai* came to mean, not the life-giving and light-giving soul, but the body and bodily strength.

The word *hun* is etymologically the same as the word *yun*, meaning "clouds." The clouds float about and seem more free and more active than the cold, white-lighted portion of the growing and waning moon. The idea of a *hun* may have been a contribution from the southern peoples among whom the ritual of *fu* (Recall of the dead) was called *chao-hun*, the recall of the *hun* or soul.

In an age when the philosophers were taking up the important conception of the *yin* and the *yang* (the female and male principles) as the passive and active principles or forces in the universe, it was not unnatural that attempts should be made to reconcile the different tribal beliefs and that the human soul should come to be regarded as consisting in a residual and passive *pai* and a more active and cloud-like *hun*.

After the sixth century B.C., it became customary to speak of the human soul as the *hun* or as *hun-pai*. In discussing a widespread popular agitation about the appearance of the ghost of a one-time powerful politician who had been murdered eight years before, Tsu Ch'an (died 522 B.C.), a famous statesman who was regarded as one of the wisest men of the age, said that it was possible that a strong personality dying an unnatural death might become a ghost with power to harm people. His explanation is as follows: "A man's life begins with the formation of the *pai*. The active part of the *pai* is called the *hun*. When properly nourished, the *pai* and *hun* grow strong. Therefore there is vitality, intelligence and even insight. When a common man or a common woman dies naturally, his or her soul, (*hun-pai*), by attaching itself onto some living being (such as a medium or a witch), may be able to terrify and harm people. Even so with Liang-hsiao (the murdered politician whose apparition had been the talk of the city), … whose family has held political power for three generations, …and who certainly has been plentifully and richly nourished. … And he died a forced death. Is it, then, not unexpected that he should become a terrifying ghost?" (*Tso Chuan*, 535 B.C.)

A story is told of another wise man of the age, Chi Cha, of the Southern State of Wu, who lost his son while travelling in the north (probably in 515 B.C.) on a diplomatic mission. Attracted by the great reputation of the father as a master of the philosophy underlying the rituals, Confucius was a witness at the burial ceremony. After the tomb had been closed, the father, partially baring his left shoulder and arm, walked around the grave three times, speaking with crying voice these words: "Destined it is that the bones and the flesh should return to the earth. But the breath of the *hun* (soul) goes everywhere,—goes everywhere!" After that, Chi Cha went on his journey.

These two often quoted stories probably indicate some of the intellectual attempts in working out some general conception of human survival on the basis of incoherent and often inconsistent popular beliefs. This general theory is conveniently summed up in such classical quotations as the following: "The bodily *pai* goes downward; the breath of the intellect remains on high." (*Li Chi*, Bk. 9.) "The soul-breath returns to the skies; the bodily *pai* returns to the earth." (*Li Chi*, Bk. 11.) It will be seen that these formulations agree in general with the alleged saying of Chi Cha at his son's burial that "the bones and the flesh should return to the earth, but the

breath of the soul goes everywhere."

The philosophers of the orthodox schools did not go beyond this and speculate about what becomes of the soul-breath after leaving the body and rising up and floating in the air. They tried to evade the issue by saying that they did not know. Some, as will be seen later, actually denied the existence of ghosts and gods.

But the vast majority of the people are not troubled by such scruples. They accept the soul (*hun*) as a fact and as a real entity. They are sure that the soul can move about either in the earth or in our own midst,—invisible ordinarily, but visible if necessary. They are sure that it is the soul which makes the ghost or spirit; that, while the natural abode of the soul is in the grave, in the earth—the "yellow springs,"—he may, and likes to, visit his family at home; that the ghost can and does eat and drink the sacrificial offerings. They are equally sure that if no food is offered, the ghost will hunger and may "starve." For there was an old belief that "a ghost does not enjoy the sacrifices offered by people who are not his own descendants." This belief underlies the old religion of ancestor-worship, which makes it a great sin for a man not to have posterity.

There was also a related belief that if a ghost has nowhere to go and enjoy proper sacrifices, then he will do things to terrorize and injure people. This belief justifies the institution of appointing and adopting an heir for a man who dies without a son.

But Chinese ancestor-worship, even in the earliest historical times, set a limit to the number of ancestors to be worshipped. For the ordinary man without official rank, sacrifices are offered only to the dead parents and grandparents. Even in the great families, sacrifices are limited to three or four generations. The remote ancestors are "promoted" (*t'iao*) by every new generation to the unsacrificed class. A system of regular "promotion" (*t'iao*) of remote ancestors to the unsacrificed class is worked out in detail by Confucianist scholars and is applied to the ancestors of the royal and imperial families.

What becomes of the ghosts of the "promoted" ancestors? Will they not starve? The answer has been that the souls gradually shrink smaller and smaller and finally disintegrate entirely. There is a popular belief that "new ghosts are bigger than old ones." On some such grounds, the old dictionaries define "death" (*szu*) as "destruction by disintegration." This definition sums up both the common sense of the Chinese common man and the skepticism and rationalism of the intelligentsia. The Sinitic religion of the early Chinese people, in short, has some notion of human survival after death. But the human soul, which gives life and knowledge to the living body, survives as a spirit or ghost only for a time varying apparently in length according to its own strength, but gradually fades out and ultimately disintegrates entirely. It is not immortal.

V

Now, even so moderate a conception of human survival was viewed with some suspicion and alarm by the philosophers. Even the orthodox philosophers who came from the priestly class of the *Ju*, and who were trained as masters of the rites and rituals of funeral, burial and ancestor-worship,—even they were worried by the expensiveness of the sacrifices, and the objects buried with the dead, and by the lingering primitive practice of human sacrifices in certain influential quarters.

The *Tso Chuan*, a chronological compilation of historical narratives covering the years 722-468 B.C., records six cases (621, 594, 589, 581, 529 and 508 B.C.) of *hsun*, that is, killing human beings to be buried with the dead, of which only one instance (that of 594 [B.C.]) was a conscious disobedience of the expressed wish of a dying father to have his favorite concubine buried with him. The other five cases involved many human lives sacrificed in royal burials. Two of these instances (529 and 508 [B.C.]) took place during the lifetime of Confucius (551-479 [B.C.]). In 529 [B.C.], when the King of Ch'u died in exile in the midst of a civil war, his host killed two of his own daughters and buried them with his King as His Majesty's companions in death.

The book of *T'an Kung* (which forms Bk. II of the *Li Chi* and which consists of a large number of narratives relating to Confucius, his followers of the first and second generation, and their contemporaries) records, apparently with approval, two instances of deliberate refusal to kill and bury human beings with the dead. Both of these cases seem to belong to the time shortly after the death of Confucius.

The *Tso Chuan* also records seven cases (641, 627, 588, 537, 532, 531 and 503 B.C.) of another type of human sacrifice,—that of sacrificing war captives at an altar of worship. In three of these, all instances of a strange custom of killing a war captive and using his blood to smear the war drum,—the victims were spared. In the case of 503 B.C., the prince of a defeated tribe of "barbarian" origin was captured in war and was offered alive at the altar as a sacrifice, but his life was spared after the ceremony. This case happened in Confucius' home state of Lu when he was nearly fifty years old.

While these recorded cases are confined to state action and to practices in royal and noble families, they indicate beyond any doubt the persistence and the wide spread of human sacrifice to a dead ancestor or to a god. The general development of civilization had already reached a very high level of humanitarianism and rationalism so that most of these inhuman practices were recorded with the severe disapproval of the historian. Nevertheless, these things were done by respectable people in supposedly civilized states. No wonder, therefore, that the thinkers of the age should feel disturbed by the religious ideas which lay beneath those inhuman practices.

The philosophers of the school of Confucius seem to have come to the conclusion that the basic idea underlying the human sacrifices and the burial of expensive objects with the dead was the belief that a man retains his knowledge and feelings after death. One of Confucius' disciples said: "The Hsia people used crude 'token utensils' in burying their dead, because they wanted to tell the people that the dead have no knowledge. The Shang people used real utensils for sacrifice and burial, because they wanted to tell the people that the dead have knowledge. We in the Chou time are burying both real and token utensils with the dead, because we want to tell the people that we are in doubt whether or not the dead have knowledge." (*Li Chi*, Bk. 2.) This statement frankly points out the historic connection between the burial of real objects and utensils with the dead and the belief in the survival of human knowledge after death.

Confucius himself took the same view. He said: "Those who make the token utensils (*ming ch'i*) for burial have really understood the principle of the rites of mourning the dead. … What a great pity that the dead should be expected to use the

real objects intended for the living! Would that not be tantamount to killing human beings to be buried with the dead? … Clay carriages and straw effigies have been used ever since ancient times: that is the (proper) way of making 'token utensils' for burial. … It is inhuman even to make 'burial puppets' which are lifelike, for would that not be too close to using real human beings to accompany the dead?" (*Li Chi*, Bk. 2; cf. *Mencius*, Bk. I, Ch. 4.)

It is quite clear that Confucius and some of his disciples openly opposed the use of "real utensils" for burial, which would imply the belief in the survival of human intelligence after death. But do they then openly accept and teach the notion that the dead have no knowledge?

Confucius and his school preferred to take the agnostic position and leave the question in doubt. Confucius said: "It is not human to say that the dead are really dead. Therefore, we should not say that. It is not intelligent to say that the dead are not dead, but alive. Therefore, we should not say that." (*Li Chi*, Bk. 2.) The proper attitude, then, is that we do not know.

This agnosticism is more explicitly taught in the *Analects*. When a disciple asked how to serve the ghosts and the gods, Confucius said: "We have not yet learned to serve man, how can we serve the ghosts?" The same disciple then asked: "What is death?" The Master said: "We do not know life, how do we know death?" And on one occasion, Confucius spoke thus to this disciple: "Yu, shall I teach you what knowledge is? To say that you know when you do know; and that you do not know when you do not know: that is knowledge."

It was only one step for some of his followers to go from this agnostic position to that of a frank denial of the survival of human intelligence after death, and therefore a denial of the existence and reality of all ghosts, spirits and gods. And in the 5th and 4th centuries [B.C.], the Confucianist school was accused by their opponents of the Mo religion as actually denying the existence of gods and ghosts.

The Mo religion was founded by Mo Ti, the greatest religious leader of the 5th century B.C., who made a great stir by his earnest efforts to defend and reform the theistic religion of the people. He believed in a personal God whose will is that man should love all men without distinction. He firmly believed in the existence and reality of gods and ghosts. In the works attributed to Mo Ti, there is one lengthy essay, "To Prove the Existence of Ghosts" (Bk. 31). In this essay, Mo Ti tried to prove the existence of ghosts by three groups of arguments: (1) that so many people have actually seen or heard the ghosts; (2) that the existence of ghosts is either explicitly recorded or implied in many ancient books; and (3) that recognition of the existence of ghosts is useful to the moral conduct of the people and the welfare of the state.

Mo Ti revived and founded a religion of great force. He was one of the greatest and most lovable characters in Chinese history. But he did not "prove" the existence of ghosts.

In later ages, orthodox Chinese thinkers either simply accepted the traditional worship and sacrifices without serious questioning, or took refuge in the agnostic position of Confucius and professed that they did not know whether the dead had knowledge or not. To make the Confucian position more explicit, later Confucianists invented the following apocryphal story which first appeared in the first century B.C. and became more popular in a revised version of the third century A.D. This is

the story. A disciple asked whether the dead had knowledge or not. Confucius said: "Were I to say that the dead had knowledge, I would be afraid that pious sons and grandsons might go so far as to injure life in order to accompany the dead. But, were I to say that the dead had no knowledge at all, I would be afraid that undutiful sons might abandon their dead parents without a burial. Szu, you are not in any urgency to know whether the dead have knowledge or not. Some day you will understand." (Liu Hsiang's *Shuo Yuan*, Bk. 18; and *K'ung-Tzu Chia Yu*, Bk. 2.)

But some Chinese thinkers frankly took an atheistic position. Wang Ch'ung (27-c. 100 A.D.), one of China's greatest philosophers, wrote several essays (*Lun Hêng*, Bks. 61, 63, 65) to prove that "A dead man does not become a ghost, has no knowledge, and cannot harm people." He frankly holds that "when the blood in a man's veins ceases to flow, his breath and spirit are disintegrated, and the body decomposes into dust and earth. There is no ghost." One of his most famous reasonings to prove that there are no ghosts is this: "If it be true that the ghost consists of the dead man's soul, then, all ghosts seen by men should be seen in naked form, and certainly should not wear clothes. For surely clothes and girdles have no souls to survive decomposition. How can ghosts be seen with clothes on?"

As far as I am aware, this argument has never been successfully refuted.

VI

Even as Wang Ch'ung worked on his great *Essays of Criticism* (*Lun Hêng*), the great religion of Buddhism was invading China and was already making converts both among the masses and in influential circles. In a brief period of two or three centuries, China was conquered by this Indian religion; and Chinese thought and belief, religion and art, and indeed life in every direction, became gradually Indianized. This process of Indianization went on for nearly two thousand years.

Strictly speaking, original Buddhism was an atheistic philosophy in that it taught that all things, including the self, are accidental combinations of the elements and will eventually disintegrate and return to the elements. Nothing is permanent; nothing has continuity and stability. There exists no self, no ego, no soul.

But the Chinese people were not interested in metaphysical speculations of this kind. To the popular mind, Buddhism was the great religion which first taught China many, many heavens and many, many hells; and which first taught China the wonderful idea of transmigration of souls and the equally wonderful idea of absolute retribution of good and evil throughout past, present and future existences.

These wonderful ideas were eagerly taken in by the millions of men and women in China, because these were the very ideas which the old Sinitic religion lacked. In the course of time, all these ideas became part and parcel of Chinese religious thinking and believing. They became part and parcel of the revived Sinitic religion now flourishing under the name of Taoism. The heavens were now given Chinese names, and the hells were presided over by Chinese Kings and Judges. The bliss of the heavens, the horror of the hells, the pilgrim's progress through the heavens, the evildoer's sufferings through the hells—all these ideas were not only sung in songs and recited in imaginative tales, but also everywhere vividly pictured in huge mural paintings in the temples and monasteries for the daily edification and terrorizing of the people.

In this manner, the old Sinitic religion came to be enriched, renovated and

reinforced. In this manner, Siniticism was Indianized. In the same manner, the old conception of the soul and its survival came to be completely made anew. The soul still goes by the name *hun*, but it is now conceived as capable of everlastingly going through all stages of transmigration, for better and for worse, all in accordance with the absolute causal chain of moral retribution. It is the *hun* that goes to the Tushita heaven, or the wondrously blissful paradise presided over by the Amitabha of boundless longevity and boundless illumination. And it is the *hun* of the evildoer which suffers all forms of torture in the hells, being burned in boiling oil, being slowly chiseled, being pounded and ground, being quartered and requartered.

This Buddhist conquest of medieval China was so overwhelming that many Chinese intellectuals were swept off their feet. They, too, were dazzled by the grandiose imagery and obscurantist metaphysics of the new religion and were captivated by it. But in the course of time, Chinese humanism, naturalism and skepticism gradually came back.

About the year 510 A.D., at the height of Buddhist conquest, a classical scholar, Fan Chên, started the attack on the new religion by frankly denying the existence of the soul. He published an essay on "The Destructibility of the Soul." He said: "The body and the soul are one and the same thing. The soul lasts only as the body lasts. The soul is destroyed when the body is destroyed." His most famous argument is the following paragraph. "The body is the material basis of the soul. The soul is only the functioning of the body. The soul is to the body what sharpness is to a sharp knife. We have never known the existence of sharpness after the knife is destroyed. How can we admit the survival of the soul when the body is gone?"

Fan Chên's essay consists of thirty-one questions and answers. It ends by pointing out that his thesis of the destructibility of the soul was intended to liberate the Chinese nation from the pitiful domination of the untruthful and selfish religion of Buddhism.

The publication of the essay greatly displeased the Emperor Wu Ti of Liang (502-549 A.D.), who was a devout Buddhist. Both the monks and the lay Buddhists were excited. The Emperor issued a decree refuting Fan's thesis by reminding him that all three great religions,—Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism,—agree in upholding the indestructibility of the soul, and that the ignorant and narrow-minded author should know at least what the Confucianist classics had to say on the subject. The imperial refutation was enthusiastically copied by a great Buddhist abbot and sent to sixty-two princes, ministers of the Government, and recognized scholars of the age for comment. All sixty-two notables sent replies heartily endorsing the emperor's refutation.

But the historians tell us that "although the whole Court and country were in uproar against Fan Chên, no one succeeded in refuting his arguments."

Fan's thesis that the soul is only the functioning of the body and cannot survive the destruction of the body has had great influence in Chinese thought of later ages. The philosopher-historian, Szu-ma Kuang (1019-1086), for example, took a similar line of reasoning in his attacks on the popular beliefs in heaven and hell. He said: "When the body has decomposed, and the spirit disintegrated, what is left there to undergo the chiseling, burning, pounding and grinding, even if there be such cruel tortures in the hells?" This is almost a paraphrasing of Fan Chên.

VII

The net outcome of our inquiry is therefore twofold: (1) that the popular religion of indigenous China, even after some apparent intellectual efforts in systematizing and rationalizing, contains a rather naive and simple conception of the human soul and its survival after death, and it was this Sinitic notion of the soul which was reinforced and renovated by the new ideas of the Indian religion of Buddhism; and (2) that the important intellectual leaders of China seem to take no positive interest in the problem, and that, whenever they took any interest in it at all, their speculations usually resulted either in agnosticism or in open denial of the soul and its survival.

This leads us to raise two questions: (1) Why were the Chinese thinkers not interested in the problem of the soul and its immortality? (2) Was there in the religious or moral life of the scholarly class anything which may be regarded as having taken the place of the concept of human immortality?

The answer to the first question is that the Chinese intellectual and philosophical tradition has been so predominantly humanistic and rationalistic that the problems of life after death and the gods and spirits simply do not seriously enter the mind of the philosophers. Confucius has set the pattern when he says: "We have not learned to serve man, how can we serve the gods and ghosts? And we do not know life, how can we know death?"

On another occasion, Confucius says: "A gentleman has no fears, nor worries. He searches within himself and is not ashamed. Why should he worry? And what does he fear?" A moral life in this world of man is sufficiently an end in itself. There is no need to worry about the hereafter, or to fear the gods and the ghosts.

Tseng Tzu, one of the great disciples of Confucius, leaves to us this pattern: "The scholar must needs be stout-hearted and perseverant: his burden is heavy, and his journey long. Humanity is the burden he imposes on himself: is that not a heavy burden? Death alone ends his toils: is that not a long journey?" A Chinese gentleman, if he is not too much under the influence of Indianized thought and belief, feels no pain nor regret at the thought that death ends his toils.

Now to the other question: Is there any Chinese concept or belief which, for the educated Chinese, may take the place of the idea of human immortality in other religions?

Yes, there is. The *Tso Chuan* records that in the year 549 B.C.—that is, when Confucius was only a little child of two years,—a wise man of his state, Shu-sun Pao, made the remarkable statement that there are three kinds of immortality: the highest is the immortality of virtue or character; the next is the immortality of achievement; the next is the immortality of the spoken or written word. "These," says Shu-sun Pao, "do not perish with the length of time. That is what is called immortality after death." And he gave an example: "In my country, there was a minister by the name of Tsang-sun Ch'en, who is long dead but whose wise words stand to this day." This statement has been one of the best known classical quotations for twenty-five centuries, and has had tremendous influence throughout the ages. It is generally known as "the three immortalities," which I have elsewhere translated as the immortality of "the three W's," that is, the immortality of Worth, Work, and Words.

It is impossible to estimate the extent and depth of the influence and effect of

this doctrine. It is in itself the best proof of the truth of the immortality of Words.

In 1508, Wang Shou-jen (d. 1528), the great philosopher, was asked by a student about the truth of the possibility of prolongation of the physical life through alchemical methods. In his reply, he said: "We of the school of Confucius, too, have our view of immortality. Yen Hui, the favorite disciple of Confucius, for example, died at the age of thirty-two. But he is still living today. Can you believe it?"

As I am writing, my memory carries me back nearly fifty years, back to my first village school in the mountains of Southern Anhwei. Every day, from my high seat, I could see on the north wall a long scroll on which was writ large a copy of part of a famous letter by Yen Chen-ch'ing, statesman and great calligrapher of the 8th century. As I began to learn to read the cursive writings, I recognized that the letter opened with a quotation about the three immortalities of Worth, Work, and Words. Fifty years have passed, but the vivid impression of my first discovery of those immortal words on the immortalities has always remained with me.

This ancient doctrine of the three immortalities has satisfied many a Chinese scholar in the last twenty-five centuries. It has taken the place of the idea of human survival after death. It has given the Chinese gentleman a sense of assurance that, although death doth end his toil, the effect of his individual worth, his work, and his thoughts and words will long remain after he is gone.

And it is not necessary to think that only great worth, great work, and great words can be immortal. It is quite possible and logical for us moderns to reinterpret this ancient conception and democratize or socialize it, so that worth may mean all that we are, work may mean all that we do, and words may mean all that we think and say. This doctrine may acquire a modern and scientific meaning that, in this world, every individual, however humble and lowly and insignificant, leaves something behind him, for good or for evil, for better or for worse. For it is not the good only that survives: it has been well said, "The evil that men do lives after them." This recognition that evil as well as good, folly as well as wisdom, may live on in its effect on others, should give us a graver sense of moral responsibility toward our own action and thought and expression. Everything that we are, everything that we do, and everything that we say, is immortal in the sense that it has its effect somewhere in this world, and that effect in turn will have its effects somewhere else, and the thing goes on in infinite time and space. We do not see all, but everything is there, reaching into the infinite.

In short, the individual may die, just as a cat and a dog may die; but he lives on in a greater self which may be called Society or Humanity, and which is immortal. This greater self lives on as the everlasting monumental testimony of the triumphs and failures of the numberless individual selves. "Humanity is what it is by the wisdom and folly of our fathers, but we shall be judged by what humanity will be when we shall have played our part." [2]

2 Hu Shih, in a personal credo included in the volume "Living Philosophies," published in New York, 1930.

Index

A

affairs of man 人事 98
Ai Ti（汉）哀帝 83, 101
Amita 阿弥陀 108-109, 111
Analects 《论语》 14, 50,122-123,172
anomalies 异 74, 85-87, 92, 95
Anyang 安阳 3, 4, 164, 166
Avalokitesvara 观世音菩萨 109
Avitchi 阿鼻 108

B

B. of Songs 《诗经》 10, 159
Being 有 28, 30, 34, 38, 40, 42-43, 51, 53, 55, 57-59, 62-63, 76, 82, 87, 88, 92, 103, 109-110, 115-116, 120, 128-129, 132-133, 136, 138, 143-144, 149-150, 156, 160-161, 163, 166, 168, 169, 174
Bhaishajya raja 药王菩萨 109
Bodhidharma 达摩 113, 115
Book for Elementary Education 《小学》 142
Book of Ceremony 《礼记》 10
Book of Change 《易经》 9, 11, 14, 17, 66, 123, 129, 134, 142, 146
Book of Filial Piety 《孝经》 50, 146
Book of Heaven 《天书》 123-124
Book of History 《尚书》 10, 13, 55, 146, 159-160
Book of Mencius 《孟子》 53
Book of Odes 《诗经》 10
Book of Songs 《诗经》 7, 13, 19, 50, 55, 92, 142, 146, 159
Book of the Prince of Huai-nan 《淮南子》 62, 76-77
Book of the Roundabout Way 《迂书》 127
Buddha 佛 106, 108-112, 114-116, 118-120

C

catastrophes 灾 74, 85-87
cauterization 灸 45
celestial globe 浑天仪 97
ch'an 谶 97
Ch'en Ch'un 陈淳 146
Ch'en Chung-chü 陈仲举 98
Ch'en Liang 陈亮 142
Ch'eng Hao 程颢 126, 130-135, 138, 140
Ch'eng I 程颐 126, 132, 135-137, 141-144, 146, 149
Ch'eng Tzŭ Yai 城子崖 1
ch'i 气 18, 24, 62, 67, 78, 80, 95, 96, 133, 139, 158
Ch'iang 羌 99
Ch'uan-Teng-Lu 《传灯录》 131
Ch'un Ch'iu 春秋 10-11, 56, 85, 92
Ch'un Ch'iu 《春秋》 10-11, 56, 85, 92
Ch'un-yü Yi 淳于意 90
Chang Chiao 张角 103
Chang Chien 张骞 138
Chang Hêng 张衡 91, 97, 103
Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng 章学诚 156
Chang Ling 张陵 103, 104
Chang Lu 张鲁 103
Chang Shih 张栻 142
Chang Tsai 张载 126, 138-140, 134, 142
Chao Wu 赵武 24
Chên jen 真人 82, 111
Chên Te-hsiu 真德秀 148
Chia Kw'ei 贾逵 91
Chih K'ai 智顗 113
Chin Szu Lu 《近思录》 142
ching 经 87, 88, 120
ching 精 62, 87, 120
Chou Period 周朝 9, 38
Chou Tun-i 周敦颐 126, 129, 130, 142
Chou Yen 邹衍 67
Chu Hsi 朱熹 138, 140-144, 146-148, 150, 159-160, 136, 145, 156, 157, 160
Chu Sung 朱松 141
Chuang Tzu 庄子 11, 45, 63, 64, 105, 118, 123
Chung Ch'ang-t'ung 仲长统 98-99
Chung Yung 《中庸》 50, 123, 149
collaborating evidence 旁证 159
Commentary on the Book of Change 《周易本义》 142
Commentary on the Book of Songs 《诗集传》 142
comparison 辟 46, 文前III

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Confucius 孔子 10, 11, 14, 18, 23, 31-35, 42, 45, 49, 53, 56, 65, 66, 70, 86, 88, 92, 94, 96, 120, 121, 122, 123, 131, 142, 145, 147, 153, 163, 169, 171-173, 175, 176
Controller of Fate 司命 102
Cycle of 60 干支 5

D

de Pantoja 庞迪我 158
deduction 效 46-47
Dhyana 禅 110-111, 113
Dialecticians 辩者 11
Divine Reason 天理 132-133, 157
Diviners 贞人 5, 13
drinking 饮酒 9, 108
Duke Huan of Ch'i 齐桓公 18
Duke Mu of Ch'in 秦穆公 10, 18
Duke Wen of Chin 晋文公 18

E

Early Sages 先圣 66
Earth 土 1, 14, 17, 21-22, 27, 35, 44, 50, 62, 67, 68-69, 78, 82, 85-86, 92-97, 127-128, 133-134, 137-140, 145, 148-150, 154, 169-170, 173
Eastern Chou 东周 9, 18
Eighty-one Questionings 《八十一难经》 45
Empress Tou 窦皇后 76, 80
Enrichment of life 厚生 157
extending moral intuition 致良知 152

F

Fa Yen 法演 116
Fan Chên 范缜 118, 174
Fan Chung-yen 范仲淹 125
Fei Mi 费密 155-156
Fire 火 14, 20-21, 23, 25, 30, 44, 64, 66, 68-69, 82, 85-86, 94, 102, 115, 119
Five Elements 五行 44, 66-67, 77, 86
Five Supernatural Powers 五神通 111
Five Works on Ancient Pronunciation (Phonology) 《音学五书》 159
For the Guidance of Youth 《正蒙》 138-139
four "Heavens" of Emptiness 四念处 111
four Boundless Wishes 四无量心 110
Fu I 傅奕 118

H

Han Fei 韩非 12, 58, 60, 61, 64, 65
Han Shu 《汉书》 77, 90
Han Yü 韩愈 117, 119-122, 135
Heavenly Mandate 天命 7, 67
Heavenly Master 天师 104
History 《史记》 10, 13, 16, 19, 39, 53, 55, 64-67, 71, 77, 80, 82, 86-87, 90, 104, 118, 120, 122, 129, 131, 137, 140, 143-144, 146, 159-160, 163, 165, 172
History of Han 《汉书》 77, 86, 87
Hiung-nu 匈奴 75, 81
Hsiang Kai 襄楷 106
Hsiang Shu 向戍 24
Hsien jen 仙人 82, 111
Hsü Hêng 许衡 147
Hsü Kuang-ch'i 徐光启 158
Hsüan Chien 宣鉴 114-115
Hsüan Tsang 玄奘 106, 113
Hsüeh Hsüan 薛瑄 148
Hsun Tzŭ 孙子 12, 66
Hu San-hsing 胡三省 148
Hu Wei 胡渭 155
Huai Hai 怀海 114-115
Huan Hsüan 桓玄 112
Huan Tan 桓谭 91
Huang Chên 黄震 148
Huang Chung-hsi 黄宗羲 155
Huang Chung-yen 黄宗炎 155
Huang Liao 黄缭 62
Hui Neng 慧能 114
Hui Shih 惠施 62
Hui Yuan 慧远 112
human desires 人欲 52, 133, 143, 156, 161
Human Ultimate 人极 130

I

I-ching 《易经》 9
I-Hsüan 义玄 114, 116
impermanence 无常 107, 110
individualism 个人主义 11, 45, 48-53, 70, 148, 154
individuality 畸 57
induction 推 47
inference 说 46

Insight of Uncleanness 不净观 110
internal evidence 本证 97, 159

J

jen 仁 35, 36, 48, 49, 82, 98, 111, 133
jen yü 人欲 133
Ju 儒 11, 13-14, 18, 35, 39, 50-51, 66, 71, 88, 167, 170
Juan Chi 阮籍 105
Jurjen 女真 126

K

K'uang Heng 匡衡 83
Kai Kung 盖公 76
karma 业 22, 108, 118
King Chuang of Ch'u 楚庄王 18
ko-wu 格物 135, 137, 142, 151
Ku Huan 顾欢 117
Ku Wen 古文 122
Ku Yen-wu 顾炎武 155, 159
Kuan Chung 管仲 24
kuan-wu 观物 129
Kumarajiva 鸠摩罗什 111-112
Kung Kung 共工 93
Kung-sun Hung 公孙弘 83-84
Kung-sun Ni 公孙尼 97

L

laissez-faire 自由主义 29, 52-53, 57, 64, 72, 74-75, 105, 128
Lankavatara School 楞伽宗 113
Lao Tzu 老子 11, 25, 27, 29-34, 45, 70, 76, 98, 103, 105-106, 126, 163
Latter-day Sages 后圣 48, 66
li 厉 10, 31-32, 50, 61, 65, 69, 98, 102, 120, 133, 137
Li Ao 李翱 121, 123, 135
Li Chih-tsao 李之藻 158
Li Kung 李塨 156
Li T'ung 李侗 144
Li Yuan-li 李元礼 98
Lieh Tzu 《列子》 47, 96, 123
Liu Chung-yuan 柳宗元 122
Liu Hung 刘洪 90
Liu Hsiang 刘向 91, 173
Liu Hsien 刘瓒 118
Liu Hsin 刘歆 91
Liu Kai 柳开 122
Liu Pang 刘邦 71, 75, 89
Liu Pei 刘备 99
Lu Chia 陆贾 65
Lu Chiu-yüan 陆九渊 142, 148
Lü Shih Ch'un Ch'iu 《吕氏春秋》 51, 65
Lü Tsu-ch'ien 吕祖谦 142, 150
Lun Hêng 《论衡》 92-93, 173

M

"Maxims on the Western Wall" 《西铭》 138
Madhyamaka 中道 109
Mahayana Buddhism 大乘佛教 107-108
Maitreya 弥勒 109-110
Mao Ch'i-ling 毛奇龄 155
Matteo Ricci 利玛窦 158
Medical Classics 医经 90
Medical Prescriptions 经方 77, 90
medicine 医 23, 44-45, 71, 77, 90, 132, 144, 158
Mei Tsu 梅鷟 159
Mencius 孟子 11, 23, 33, 42, 51, 53-57, 59-60, 66, 70, 121-122, 130, 149, 152, 168, 172
Metal 金 3, 44, 66, 68-69, 77, 82, 86, 91
Middle Sages 中圣 66
ming 命 6-7, 33, 40, 56, 96, 128, 148, 154-155, 157, 166, 171
Mo School 墨家 11, 43, 45, 57
Mo Ti 墨子 11, 39-40, 51, 57, 84, 172
Mo Tzu 墨子 40-41, 57, 65, 70
model of mankind 天下模楷 98
Mon Tzu-po 牟子博 107
Monthly Commandments 月令 69

N

Nagarjuna 龙树 109
nameless 无名 28
Neanderthal Man 尼安德特人 1
needling 针 45
Neolithic Cultures 新石器时代文化 1
New Deal 新法 125-127, 129, 131-132, 135-136, 138
nirvana 涅槃永寂 107, 109, 111, 115
no ability 无能 53
no action 无为 53, 161

non-being 无 28, 62, 105, 139
non-resistance 不争 30-32

O

Origin of the Race 生民 10
Ou-yang Hsiu 欧阳修 122, 144
Outspoken Words 《昌言》 98

P

P'an Keng 盘庚 2
pain 苦 107, 110, 128, 175
Palaeolithic Culture 旧石器时代文化 1
Pan Ku 班固 82, 86-87, 92
Pan Piao 班彪 91-92
parallel 侔 43, 47, 107
particular 实 14, 45, 47, 57-59, 63, 67, 69, 82, 85-86, 129, 159, 166
Peking Man 北京猿人 1
phrenology 骨相 96
Pien Ch'iao 扁鹊 45
Pithecanthropus 爪哇猿人 1
Prajnaparamita 《般若心经》 109, 113
priests 祝 13, 22, 83, 164, 167
prophets 卜 22
Puchow Mountains 不周之山 93

R

Red Ti 炎帝 21
Right cultivation of character 正德 157

S

Sabbathin de Ursis 熊三拔 158
School of Confucius 儒家 11, 171, 176
School of Huang-Lao 黄老之术 76
Sha Kuo T'un 沙锅屯 1
Shan-wu-wei 善无畏 106
Shang (Yin) 商（殷） 3, 37
Shao Hao 少昊 21
Shao Yung 邵雍 126, 129
Shen-hsien 神仙 77, 82
Shên Hsiu 神秀 113, 115
Shên Hui 神会 114-115
Shen Tao 慎到 58-59
Shi-King 《诗经》 10
Shien-pei 鲜卑 99
shih 士 22, 36, 42, 107
Shih Chieh 石介 122
Shih Shuo 世硕 97
Shih Tzŭ 《尸子》 59
Shih-ching 《诗经》 10
Shu Ching 《尚书》 10, 86, 157
Shu-King 《尚书》 10
Shu-sun Pao 叔孙豹 24, 175
Shun 舜 53-54, 65, 104
Shuo Wen 《说文》 97
Six Arts 六艺 157
Six Controls 六筦 88
Six Duties 六行 157
six groups 六府 44
Six Virtues 六德 157
Southern School of Ch'an 南禅宗 114
Space 宇 18, 28, 43, 62, 105, 139, 176
Su Shih 苏轼 122
Sun Ch'uan 孙权 99
Szŭ 祀 5
Szu-ma Ch'ien 司马迁 45, 77, 81, 87, 90, 122
Szu-ma Kuang 司马光 119, 125-127, 132, 135-136, 174
Szu-ma T'an 司马谈 77
Szu-ma Yi 司马懿 104
Szu-ming 司命 102

T

T'ai-Ch'u Calendar 太初历 89
T'ien T'ai 天台 113
Ta Hao 太昊 21
Ta Hsüeh 《大学》 50, 123, 143, 151
Tai Chên 戴震 156-157, 160-161
Tantrism 密宗 106, 108, 113
Tao 道 27-30, 34-35, 58, 62, 78, 103, 111, 115, 118, 126, 128
Tao An 道安 111-112
Tao Hsiu 道秀 113
Tao Sheng 道生 112
Tao Tsan-chung 陶赞仲 149
Tao Yi 道一 115
Taoism 道家 66, 72, 74, 76, 101-105, 121-122, 124, 132, 134, 173-174
temples of worship 祭 8, 101
The Book of Eternal Peace 《太平经》 102
the movement of classical revival 古文运

动 121, 129
The Way (Tao) of Eternal Peace 太平道教 103
theft 偷盗 108
Ti 帝 6-7, 21, 166
Ti Kia 帝甲 6
Ti Ku 帝喾 6, 10
Tien Jan 天然 115
tien li 天理 133
Time 宙 3, 5, 14, 23, 25, 33, 36, 40, 42, 51, 53, 60, 62, 64-69, 76, 81-82, 84, 86-87, 89-90, 91, 93, 94, 96, 99, 101-103, 107, 125-126, 131, 135, 137, 142, 145-146, 155, 158, 160, 165-166, 168, 170-171, 173-176
ts'ai 才 54
Ts'ao P'ei 曹丕 104
Ts'ao Ts'ao 曹操 99, 103-104
Tseng Tzŭ 曾子 50
Tso Chuan 《左传》 24, 122, 157, 168-169, 171, 175
Tso's Commentary on the Ch'un Ch'iu 《左氏春秋》 10
Tso's History 《左氏春秋》 10
Tsui Shih 崔寔 98
tuan 端 54
Tung Chung-shu 董仲舒 74, 84-85, 101, 145
Tzŭ Ch'an 子产 24-25
Tzŭ-hsia 子夏 36-37
Tzŭ-lu 子路 38

U

uniformity 齐 57, 61
unity of knowledge and action 知行合一 152
universal 名 45, 47-48, 57, 59, 132-133, 144, 149, 161, 166
untruth 妄语 92, 108

V

Vajrabodhi 金刚智 106
Vijnanavadin School 唯识宗 未查到此条

W

Wang An-shih 王安石 122, 125-126, 128, 132, 138
Wang Ch'ung 王充 74, 91-97, 163, 173
Wang Fu 王符 98
Wang Mang 王莽 74, 83, 88, 89, 90-91, 102
Wang Pi 王弼 97
Wang Shou-jen 王守仁 150, 153, 176
Wang Tan 王旦 124
Wang Ying-lin 王应麟 148
Water 水 15, 21, 25, 30, 44, 49, 53-54, 63, 66, 68-69, 82, 86, 95, 103, 110, 117, 119, 146
ways of Heaven 天道 24-25, 29, 95, 98
wei 纬 22, 38, 69, 82, 87-88, 97, 99, 103-104, 117
Wei Hsüan-ch'eng 韦玄成 83
wei-wo 为我 51
Wen Ti （汉）文帝 76, 80, 83-84
Western Chou 西周 9, 18
White Ti 白帝 21
will of God 天志 40, 57, 69
witchcraft 巫、巫蛊 23, 79-81
Wood 木 15, 44, 68-69, 86, 115, 156, 161
wordless 无言 28
Wu Ch'eng 吴澄 148, 159
Wu Ti （汉）武帝 80, 83, 174
Wu Tzu 五祀 102
Wu Yü 吴棫 159
wu-chun 无君 51
wu-wei 无为 29, 33, 59, 72, 75-77, 95, 126, 128

Y

Yang 阳 14, 17, 44, 62, 66-67, 78, 86, 91, 93-94, 96, 129, 133, 144, 150-151, 169
Yang Chu 杨朱 47, 51, 70
Yang Shiung 扬雄 91, 94
Yang-shê Hsi 羊舌肸 24-25, 58
Yangshao 仰韶 1
Yao 尧 53, 60, 65, 93, 104, 129
Yeh Shih 叶适 142
Yellow Ti 黄帝 21
Yen Hui 颜回 49, 137, 176
Yen Ying 晏婴 24
Yen Yuan 颜元 155-158
Yin 阴 3, 14, 17, 37, 44, 58, 62, 66-67, 77-78, 86, 94, 129, 133, 169
Yin Wen Tzu 尹文 58
Yüeh Chi 《乐记》 123, 133